A SHORT NARRATIVE

Of the late

DREADFUL FIRE IN LONDON.

TOGETHER

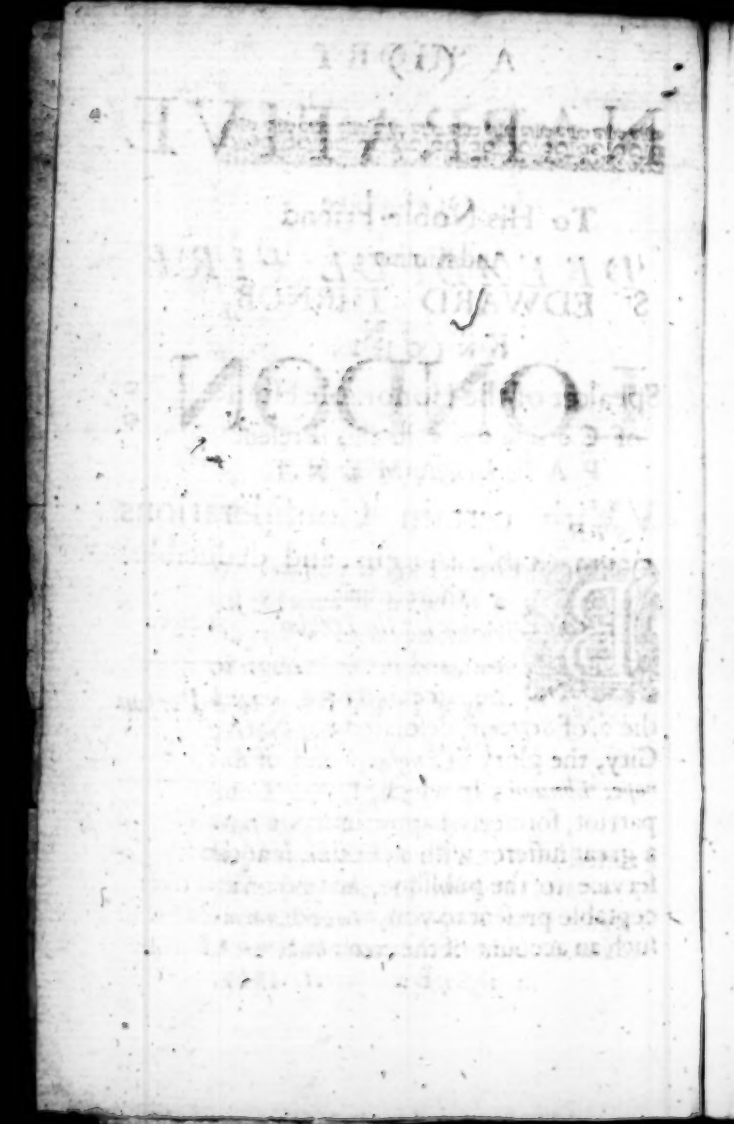
VVith certain Conſiderations Remarkable therein, and deducible therefrom;

Not unſeaſonable for the Peruſal of this Age.

Written by way of LETTER *to a Perſon of Honour and Virtue.*

LONDON,
Printed by *W. G.* for *Rich. Thrale* at the *Croſſe-Keys* and *Dolphin* in *Alderſgate-ſtreet* over againſt the *Half-Moon Tavern*, and *James Thrale* under St. *Martin's Outwich* Church in *Biſhops-gate-ſtreet*. 1667.

BIBLIOTECA RODRIGUEZ



To His Noble Friend
And Kinſman,
Sr. EDWARD TURNOR,
KNIGHT;
Speaker of the Honorable Houſe
of COMMONS in this Preſent
PARLIAMENT.

SIR,

BEcauſe I know you were at a diſtance when that furious, never to be forgotten, and never enough to be lamented Fire, begun the 2. of *Septemb.* deſolated our Native City, the glory of *England* and of *Europe*, *London*; In which, I, your Compatriot, formerly happy in it, am now a great ſufferer with it; I think it a juſt ſervice to the publique, and no unacceptable preſent to you, to endeavour ſuch an account of the commencement,

progreſs and concluſion of it, as both mine own view, and the faithful report of others aſſiſts me to; that as God may have the glory of his juſt judgement on a populous and rich City diſperſed and impoveriſhed, ſo men may ſee the dreadful effects of providence, untutelar to their acquiſitions, and call off their hearts and confidences, from theſe ſublunaries, to God, who only can bring them to us, and preſerve them with us, and by whom only they can be transformed into comforts, (which as elementary and viciſſitudinarious, they can in no true ſenſe be. *For the faſhion of this world paſſeth away*,) and the glory of it being but as a Flower of the Field; to ſet the heart upon that which has wings and flyes away, will we, nill we, is to be as acceſſary to our own deception, as weakneſs and wilfulneſs can make us, or miſery and judgement can continue us to be.

And becauſe (Sir) it is bruited abroad by ſome that this fatal accident had a more than ordinary expreſs of fury, that is, that *London* was fired from Heaven, as was *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*

morrah of old, though say they, God restrained the Fire from such dismal effects as then were permitted it: And others refer it to the spight and furtherance of male-content Villanes, and mischievous Forreigners, greedy thus to revenge themselves of us, for our stout demeanours towards them, and our great successes against them, which they judge no otherwise ballanceable than by this spoil and non-such disappointment, equal, if not *paramount*, to any other diversion: because (Sir) I say men are so variously acted in this *Euroclydon* of Providence, which has been so stupifying to every mans senses, that either was a compassionate spectator, or a concerned sufferer in the spoil and loss of that once famous place, which *Tacitus* so long ago terms, *Nobilissimum emporium & commeatuque negotiatorum maxime celebre*; I have adventured to write my thoughts of the rise, nature, and circumstances of the Fire, and to beg your patience and pardon both to them and me.

And here (Sir) I must confess though I adore the greatness of God,

and deplore the grievousness of the sin of *London*, for which God may justly bring upon it, not only what he has, but greater and more eradicating judgements, such as he expresses, *when he begins he will make an end by, and the fire of his wrath shall burn, and none shall quench it.* Though whatsoever of this that might have been more, is the deserved severity of God to its many and monstrous sins, yet doe I not believe that this Fire was like that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, for that was fire from the Lord out of Heaven, *Gen.* 19. 24. Fire not only of wasting things combustible, but Fire of exinanition to the earth and soyl, incapacitating it to produce necessaries for the life of man and beast, converting the substance of the place into Brimstone and Salt and Burning, as the Lord paraphraseth on *Sodoms* judgement, *Deut.* 29. 33. so that it became desert, never to be dwelt in again. *Isaiah* 13. 19. for such fire, like the waters on the old world, God may be only thought once to exemplifie his power by, and to fix the fear and awe of him in the minds

of

of men, insolent against him, whose greatness it can reach, whose obduration it can penetrate, whose fixation in the world it can dissettle; *God who has said his spirit shall not always strive with man, forasmuch as he is but dust, lest the spirit that he hath created should fail before him*, makes all judgement his strange work, and therefore such stupendious ones as this, he may be thought to account much more his strange work: once indeed he has appeared in flaming Fire and devouring Brimstone to *Sodom* and the City of the rich and fertile plain, who were *sinners before the Lord*, that is, who because they were rich were riotous, and because they had abundance from the soyl which was rank and lusty, gave themselves up to luxury and pride; (*For the sins of Sodom were idleness and fulness of bread.*) Once more he will send his Son in flaming Fire to dissolve the world and render vengeance to his enemies; but his intercurrent judgements of Fire between this first & that last president of unparalleledness, are alloyed by mixtures of mercy in them. And I perswade my self of

this nature was the late judgement by Fire upon *London*, a City not like *Sodom* without Priest and without Magistrate, whose vices and insolencies bore down both ordinances of Church and State. *Londons* fulness of bread and idleness were no publick and owned effronteries, no such wickedness as *Sodom* had was setled by a law, or practised against law in her, no rioters against Angels were her inhabitants as the *Sodomites* were, no murmurers were they against Gods soveraignty as the *Sodomites* were, *ver.* 13. Therefore God in the midst of judgement remembred mercy to *London*; God overthrew not only *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, but all the Cities of the plain, giving *Zoar* only for a Sanctuary to one *Lot*; but God has not destroyed the Suburbs of *London* or the neighbouring City to it, but reserved them for a shelter to her many thousand inhabitants; God destroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* in a moment, *Lament.* 4. 6. by a special and not to be disputed finger of God, no mortal instrument co-operating, no culinary fire being so speedy in its consumptions,

ons, but God exerciſed his judgements on *London* gradually that the ſpectators might by the ſight of their puniſhment, bewail the ingratitude of their ſin deſerving it; God overthrew all the Inhabitants of *Sodom*, and that which grew upon the ground of it, but God has preſerved the Inhabitants of *London* and much of their riches to be a ſeed of ſucceſſion and a door of hope to its future reſtauration. God petrified *Lot*'s wifes body as a ſtanding monument of his wrath upon her, but for looking back upon *Sodom* whence ſhe was delivered, with commiſeration of it and wiſh of better fortune to it, but God has delivered the inhabitants of *London* to look to *London* with pity and to praiſe him for their deliverance, and they wiſh its re-edifying, I hope, without ſin, and will ſet on to build it, I hope, without interruption. Laſtly, *Sodoms* judgement is termed *Eternal fire*, as if God had made thoſe monſtrous ſinners, who turned the glory of God into ſhame, to have a Hell both here and hereafter, unuſual ſinners puniſhed with unuſual judge- 7v. Jude

judgements; But *London's* doom, I hope, is not such, for God has given its inhabitants the *spirit of grace and of supplication*, and though they have ashes for beauty, and the spirit of heavinels for the garment of salvation, yet are they submissive to God, and accepters of his correction, and abiders by it till he release them from it. And hence it is (Sir) that I conclude since *Lovaon* was that City when it was fired that had a people and thousands of them that feared God sincerely; if in any part of the world God had a chosen generation, and a people nigh unto him, the judgement of fire sent upon it was not miraculous and extraordinary as those fires we read consumed the Sacrifice on the Altar, 9, 10. of *Levit.* or that which consumed the Flesh upon the Altar upon *Elias* his Prayer, or that which destroyed the Souldiers, sent to apprehend *Elias*, or that which consumed *Solomon's* Sacrifice, 1 *Chron. chap.* 8. all which with other the like Fires in Scripture was by Lightning, fire darted from Heaven upon them, and prevalent beyond all

Lib. 3. c. 9. Josephus lib. 8. Antiq. Iudic. c. 7. l. 8. c. 2.

natural

natural operation and activity seperated from the addition of Gods penall power in it, no such Fire I humbly conceive was this, but that Fire which the providence of God suffered to fall out by the mediation of concurring circumstances specifique to that Issue and productive of the consequences of it.

Yet Secondly I humbly also conceive this Fire of desolation, not to be barely natural, but to be signal of something supernatural, for Gods not exerting his power to hinder it, is the tacite commissioning of nature to express its utmost of active evil, that is, of penal truculency, which only is mitigated and asswaged by God, who says to the Sea, hitherto shalt thou go, and to the Plague, Sword, Famine, Fire, beyond this bound yee shall not pass. Which considered, there may several particulars be mentioned which might subserve to this ruine;

As first the general and malicious conjunctions of enemies abroad, who knowing *London* the Governments Epitome, the Copy from the life of this Empires Majesty,

Majesty, the second Throne of Regal Glory, the readiest and most certain supply of all necessaries for Offence or Defence, the great Sanctuary of *Protestantisme*, the almost all of Great Britain, this so combined in *London* to her Soveraigns lustre, the Nations supply, and her opposites disappointment, might rationally originate evill thoughts against her, and thence evil practises upon her, and as the chief and most fatal to her this of Fire; which as it hasteth the spoil, so both terrifieth the inhabitants, and gives rise through the suddenness of its confusion to any discontented numbers in her, whose designs being tenebrious, and their Partizans lewd and desperate, can have no fitter an opportunity to act a *Sicilian* Vespers, or a *Parisian* Massacre in, then in that mist and fog of danger and inconsideration, wherein every ones particular concern becomes a neglect of the publick, and the Nerves, Sinews, and Arteries of Governments contexture become shrivelled up, and by reason of their violent Convulsions, incorrespondent to

their

their general deſignment ; This was one of thoſe evils that might have made, and probably was deſigned to make the time of the Fire more fatal than God in goodneſs ſuffered it to prove ; for ſince *contemptor propriæ vitæ Magiſter tuæ* is a true rule, and it is riveted in the corrupt nature of man to revenge injuries by deſtruction of the Soul, body, ſubſtance and being of enemies, and mens ambitions are moſt keen in exploits for their Countreys, to cauſe good to which, a Great ſpirit would not only beg off a believed curſe, as that *Venetian* Senator did the Popes interdiction of *Venice*, with a Rope about his neck, lying like a dog at the Popes feet, and not being to be drawn thence till he obtained it, but with *Codrus* dye to obtain his Countreps liberty, I ſay conſidering that policy tempts power to ſcruple little, that is, its advantage, and that where ever there is mony to give, there will be ſervice to exchange for it, be the fact as horrid and ſanguinary as that of *Faux* or any like it ; and conſidering that no miſchief done us can

amount

amount to any thing like this to *London*, it is not improbable but that this Fire might be first kindled in the revenge, and then lighted further by the hands of miscreants hired thereunto; for did not *Herostratus* a base Fellow, purely to have a name for villany, set on fire the famous Temple of *Ephesus*, the worlds wonder? &c. Did not *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, and *Sadoc* the *Pharisee*, with his lewd comorades, set on fire the Temple of *Jerusalem*? And a single Souldier of *Vespasian's* burn a second time the Temple at *Jerusalem* contrary to *Vespasian's* mind, and though he came with Souldiers to quench it, yet the Souldiers continued it burning that they might come at the Gold which they believed it full of; and if this hath been the course of other things, why should we not consider that what has been may be; and what is to *London* so dreadful, may as probably be the effect of such malignant counsels as ever ruled heretofore to prodigies, if not parallel to, yet second to this; I see no cause not to suspect it now, when this which is probable

Quoniam benefaciendo non potuit innotescere, male agendo innotesceret.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 18. c. 1. lib. 7. *de Bello Jud.* c. 10.

bable enough to be the wisdom of the children of this world, shall be confirmed by confessions of parties, agents, by depositions of confederacies, threats, preparations and agitations by persons banished the land, or capital offenders for being in the land, when notwithstanding the Laws penal in force against them, they shall abide and be in the very face of power, and glory in the confusions that by Parties and Fire they have made, *There is just cause to fear there be many Michalls amongst us. And let us (in Blessed King* James *his words) rejoyce and praise God for the discovery of them, assuring our selves they were never of us, accounting all them to be against us, that either rejoyce at the prosperity of our enemies, or rejoyce not with us at our miraculous deliverance, and let us also diligently and warily try out those crafty Michalls, for it is in that respect that Christ recommends unto us the wisdom of Serpents, not thereby to deceive and betray others, no, God forbid, but to arm us against the deceit and treason of Hypocrites that go about to trap us;* Thus

27. *Eliz.* 2. 35. *Eliz.* 2. 1. *Iac.* 4. 3. *Car.* 2.

Par. 88. of his works in Folio.

that

that *Solomon* of his time wrote, adding his weighty reason, *That these Meditations of mine may after my death remain to the posterity, as a certain testimony of my upright and honest meaning in this so weighty a cause*; from which I collect this positively, that not to be prudently zealous, and politickly severe to men of bloody and active principles, who are by the Breves of their holy Father commanded not to take *The Oath of Allegiance, because this Oath cannot be taken with safety of the Catholick Faith, and of their souls health, since it containeth many things that are plainly and directly contrary to their Faith and Salvation*; and who embrace this as Divine Canon, which I do not believe all Romanists do, whom Secretary *Wallsington* styled *Papists of softnesse and conscience*, though the Jesuited sort, *Papists of Faction undoubtedly do*; I say, not to take notice of these dangers is much a blemish to the integrity of Reformed Religion in the hearts of those that are guilty of it, which to clear themselves from, as of old, there has been

Pag. 81.

Paul the 5 in his Brief to the English Catholiques. cited p. 254. of K. *James*

been prudent regard to those Engineers of disturbance, who to relieve their Religion from *Captivity as they pretend*, have in the days of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, Princes of Eternal memory, raised invasions and conspiracies, and of latter days have carryed them on, hanging forth Pirats colours to suppress true men till they displayed a Papal interest under the Vizzard of a popular Reformation; which though it were by wise men perceived, yet was permitted by God to punish our too much favour to them, who do not only maintain Parracides and Rebellions; some of which the Raign of *Hen.* 8. shews, who was a Prince of their own perswasions, though he opposed the Popes power over him, for which many of his Popish Subjects opposed him, (though they paid dear for it,) as still many such would do if they had power; and if the maximes of their State Fathers the *Jesuites* had, that power with them that heretofore

See *Faux* and *Winter*'s examination at the Powder Plot. p. 231, 233, 234. *Apolog.* for the Oath of Allegi. p. 252, 261. 270 *Speed* p. 385, 788, 787. *Speed* in *H.* 8. p. 790. And the Pope instigated the Princes and Subjects of *Eng.* against *H.* 8. *Speed* p. 783.

tofore they had; for though it muſt be acknowledged, many of the Engliſh Romaniſts are and may be good Subjects, becauſe they have and will I hope take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy *without Papal diſpenſation or mental reſervation*, which declares their fidelity to the Crown and Government; yet are there many that are ſo far from ſo doing (becauſe they are taught that *ſalvis principiis* they cannot do it) that they will rather hazzard any thing than do it; and I am contented they that will not do it, ſhould rather hazzard their any thing, then the Kings and our All. As I ſay theſe preliminations uſhered in Laws of purgation, prevention and puniſhment heretofore to be made, ſo do they upon preſumptions of equivalent prudence prompting thereunto, ſolicite and warrant the revival of thoſe laws vigours, Now in this nick of time wherein the Gangreen of enmity againſt *Englands* glory, and its Empires proſperity, is ſo combined againſt; And I bleſs God and the Great King and Parliament of *England*

Stat. 28. H.8.c. 10.

now

now ſitting, for their vigilance and zeal in this proviſion lately concluded againſt the evil inſtruments, and evil effects of ſuch diſloyalty as the *Jeſuited* Engineers have railed againſt us, not only that of Wars, (which their *Campanella* has long ſince counſelled to and is now brought about,) but alſo all other ways of ſubjecting this Crown and Subjects to their Catholick Tyranny, which (not only that *Anonymus author Revelatio conſilii Tridentini* ſet forth in *French*, and then ſuppreſſed, though ſince about 1620. printed in *Latine*, has made good by irrefragable inſtances, which I here would have ſet down *verbatim*, had not my copy with other things of mine been burned in *Syon Colledge*,) but many other Authors have given us ſeveralties, which ſummed up together, makes out ſuch ſecret Policies & bloody Practiſes, tending to the like funeſt iſſues: Witneſs the boaſt of the Duke of *Alva* a little before his death, that he had cauſed neer 18000. perſons to be under the Executioner for ſeveral ſorts of puniſhment for Religion ſake: Witneſs that ſpeech of

In His Majeſties Proclamation of the 10. of *Nov.* 1666. upon the deſires of His two Houſes of Parliament. c. 25. *de monarchia hiſpanica.*

Thuanus l. 85. 98. *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, that he had rather lose all his Provinces than seem to grant or favour any thing which might be prejudicial to the Catholick Religion; so in the pacification of *Colen*, *Anno* 1580. the *Spanish* Ministers of State declared openly that the Protestants would be well served if they were stripped of all their goods and forced to go seek new Countreys like *Jews* and *Egyptians*, who wander up and down like Rogues and Vagabonds: Witness that boast of Cardinal *Grannellanus*, who was wont to say, that he would reduce the Catholick Religion in all places, though 100000. men were to be burned in an hour; and reported it is, that in less then 30. years the *Spanish* Inquisition did consume by various torments and sundry kinds of death 150000. yea, so hateful is any thing of Reformed Religion to them, that not only doth a man of note of their Church blame *Charles* the fifth Emperor for keeping his word with *Luther*, which he says he kept *unum clementiæ famam aucupans*, *affecting the vain fame of clemency*, and

Gaspar. Grevinus in Institut. p. 192. Bellæus de affis Pont.

Campanella c. 16. de monarc. Hisp.

that

that which reason of State ought to have excused him from; but if, says he, he did well in such a punctilio, yet *post in domitione illum eundem opprimere debuisset atque principes Protestantes jam suppressos prorsus extinguere*; *That is, when he was upon his return home he ought to have surprised him, and utterly extinguished all the Protestant Princes he had power over*: And, if I am not mis-informed, it was disputed amongst the Inquisitors, whether the bones of *Charles* the fifth were not to be digged up and burned, because before his death he seemed to be inclined to the *opinion, That man is only saved through faith in Christ*. Yea, that Learned and Good Son, of a Matchless Father, Dr. *Du Moulin*, evidences the kindness and charity of Jesuited Romanists to consist in no better fruits of piety to us, than to censure *the Protestant Reformers* (Soveraign Princes and their Loyal Subjects) *and the Reformation it self* (though done by their authority) *guilty of Rebellion and High Treason; calling it the new Gospel, Justifies* Mariana *and the Jesuites against*

De comitiis Normacientibus & Augustinis, C. 27.

Answer to Philanax Ang. p. 58, 59.

those that object to them their Doctrine of King killing, cryes down Protestants as persons not to be trusted with the Government of the State, or suffered to live in any Common-wealth; bestows upon them the most odious terms that he could devise, Traytors, Diabolical, Cockatrices, Infernal Spirits, and such wilde terms. And yet while that Author reviles the Religion that our Gracious King, his Loyal Parliament and Subjects are of, and inveighs against them as unworthy the trust of Government, he has the impudence to style himself *Philanax Anglicus.* And King *James* of blessed memory has long ago charged it as an abuse of his Lenity, that though he had honoured *many Papists with Knighthood, that they were known and open Recusants, though he did indifferently give audience and access to both sides bestowing equally all Favours and Honours on both professions, all Ranks and Degrees of Papists, had free and continual access in his Court and Company, that he frankly and freely did free Recusants of their ordinary payments, and gave out of his own mouth strait order to*

spare

ſpare the execution of all Prieſts, notwithſtanding their conviction, joyning thereunto a gracious Proclamation whereby all Prieſts that were at liberty and not taken, might go out of the Country by ſuch a day: This general pardon having been extended to all convicted Prieſts in Priſon, whereupon they were ſet at liberty as good Subjects, and all Prieſts that were taken after, ſent over and ſet at liberty there; notwithſtanding all his Royal clemency, beyond which ſo zealous a Proteſtant Prince as he was, could not warrantably go; the good Kings charge on the Papiſts was ſuch, that not only the *Papiſts themſelves*, grew to *that height of pride, in confidence of my mildneſs, that they did directly expect, and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelves Liberty of Conſcience and Equality with other of my Subjects in all things; but even a number of the beſt and faithfulleſt of my ſaid Subjects were caſt in great fear and amazement of my courſe and proceedings, ever prognoſticating, and juſtly ſuſpecting that ſowre fruits to come of it, which ſhewed it ſelf clearly in the Powder Treaſon*: Thus the King.

Pag. 151. In the Apologie for the Oath of Allegian.

If I say the confidence and enmity of the Jesuited confederacy be such, when the power of the Nation is (blessed be God) not theirs, nor the hundredth man in the Nation theirs, and when they have all the favour Subjects that are sober and conformable to Law can have or be happy with, what would the courtesie of *England be less then Banishment, Fire, Faggot and Slaughter*, if they were in power and had their will, and if their devices were not by the boasty braving, and appearing of their activity, taken notice of, and the Nation thereby remembred, that danger is designed by those *homines novæ sectæ & maleficæ superstitionis qui republicam turbabant*, as the words of the arrest of the *French* Parliament for expulsion of the Jesuites are? with which the Statute of * 27. *Eliz.* c. 2. consents, when it declares them *to be sent, as hath appeared by sundry of their own confessions and examinations, as by divers other manifest means and proofs, not only to withdraw her Majesties Subjects from their due obedience to Her Majesty, but also*

* Et per Jesuitas Factionis Hispaniæ emissarios vulgi animos solicitaste atq; hoc rebellionum lacendium in Gallia quæ de erga legitimos Principes ante illa tempora præcipua fuit, &c. Thuanus l. 101. To 5.

to

to stir up and move Sedition, Rebellion and Hostility.

All which suggestions (Sir) laid together amount to this, that probable it may be, that the Fire in *London* might be the effect of desperate designs and complotments from abroad, shrowded under and seconded by some male-contents at home, because it seems to me of such consequences to Forraign purposes, not only by becoming an opportunity for commotion, and the dreadful consequences of it (had not God in mercy restrained them) but also by retarding the supplies of men, mony, and all other necessaries for peace and war, which thence are best readiest, and in fuller proportion served than from the greatest part of the Nation besides, and if suppliable elsewhere, yet with more charge, more difficulty, less constantly, less plenarily.

Which has ever kept up the honour and influence of *London*; for had it not been for the River of *Thames*, and the portability of that which it brings up to the Keyes of *London*, which drew and

kept

kept together Trade, and thereby plenty of men and mony, *London* would not have been so deservedly accounted the Chamber of her Kings, the Seat of their Government, the Mart of the Nations Trade, the Magazine of the Nations wealth, for enemies and enviers she has ever had more than many, and those of the great men, some of whom have had the face to court their Daughters, and with their portions to redeem their Lands mortgaged, and to inherit more by them, yet forgot the gratitude they owe and ought to pay to their Fathers, made what they are in *London*; yea, *London* has ever had more rough and opprobrious scorns cast upon her by the issues of Citizens, grown men of Country Fortunes got in *London*, then by any more noble Country Gentleman: Which considered, if *London* were not such a useful part of *England*, as the heart is in the body, it would not have been of such import as it was; but such it being, it must by a parity of reason become the mark of this Kingdoms enemies malice for so being,

See my defence of Arms and Armory printed *Anno* 1660.

ing, and thence must follow unavoidably, that all designs of ruine and diminution are formed and executed against her, for her so being.

Thus (Sir) it may be probable the instigation to it was from abroad: Nor Secondly, can it be denied but that it may be furthered from a party at home, who being mixed, partly constituted of men differing in main points of Religion and of dangerous principles in Civil Policy, and of men loose in Life and indigent of Fortune, may both rejoyce in, and be helpers forward of the doom of *London*, which while Loyal and under due Obedience to lawful Government they look upon as the only check to their exorbitancy, and the only probable ballance to their mutinous preponderations? for though I well know they do not all agree in first principles, yet may they conjoyn in the design of rendring their oppolites, (as they account all men who are for legal settlements, & subject-like demeanour) less potent, and their enmity less formidable, which makes the case of *London* more deplo-

deplorable; in that it had not only a Conflict with the Fire to quench it, but also with the virulent vulgar, and the debauched libertines nested in her, whose necessities and vices as they pinch them, so will they provoke them to any destructive course in supplement to them. For *London*, as all other promiscuous aggregations of men, having vast Suburbs, and (those inhabited by multitudes of men, and those under a loose Shire Government, and many of those single Persons, Gamesters, and others of shuffling life, or married persons, full of charge and poverty,) undergoes a great danger from those insolent and needy numbers, who if not restrained by strong Watches, and Trained bands ready upon all summons, and hindred rise or conjunction by vigilant Officers, and Popular readiness to seize upon Insurrectors, would undoubtedly upon any general and amazing contingent, become vexatious and bloudy, which being the apprehention of Government has caused it in all times of fear to survey the Out-parts, and take ac-

count

count of all Inmates, requiring the Inhabitants to be responsible for them, and upon survey of their number about 1647. I remember the number of them who lived in the Out-parts and were independent on Government, as to their charge to or in it, was said to be many thousands. And how dangerous these added to the other poor members of Parishes and Masters of Sheds and Houses are, is easie to be judged and has been found by sad experience in the Fire, the loss of which was much in the Goods imbezzelled, and the Thefts committed by them upon pretence of helping forth goods and hindring the approaching Fire, as well as in the actual consuming by the Fire, (the houses only excepted,) and probably those in a good part had been saved, had they restrained their hands from theft, and imployed them to master the Fire, by handing water, pulling down houses, ridding away materials mingled with the Fire, and observing the commands of provident and knowing leaders in that (so imployed) saving service. But their design

sign being not what wontedly (though stealing has been ever in fashion in those cases) so much to stay the Fire and aid the sufferers and their neighbours, yea, and the whole City which ought to be concerned in the misery of any part of it, as to prog for themselves, and to pilfer from them whom the Fire sufficiently threatned, and at last preyed upon; the Fire had no impediment from their labour, nor the removers any benefit by their fidelity, but they either valued their labour so high that no losers purse could well reach to it, (by reason of which some ordinary House-keepers were put to 40. pound charge but to remove from the Fire, and some few of the more stored sort as I have been informed at neer 400. pound,) or accepted ingagement, that under pretence of it they might colour and act their designed falshood; for though many there were that gave and could give great rates for honest Carts and Labourers, yet others there were that could not reach it, monies being not so flush with them, nor they so stored

wit i

with it on *Saturday* nights, men then paying out all on *Saturdays*, their pay day; and those who had thus drayned themselves were certainly put to great straits, being either forced to give one part to carry away the rest, or to leave all to the fire; the mercies of which was cruelty to all that it came neer; the flight from which gave opportunity to mis-carriage of thousands of pounds worth of goods, and to many thefts of goods lodged in open places, Fields and others for present riddance out of danger and hoped for security from it, which as it frowardly proved, became a removal out of the danger of Fire, into the Den of Thieves; so that indeed in some sense, the City, that rich and glorious seat of Merchants and other Tradesmen, who were as those of *Tyre* are said to be ἔμπορικὴ τῆς γῆς, the Honourable of the Earth, Members of the Crowning City, which imployed the Nations younger Brothers and Sisters, and restored them in their posterities, of elder Brothers Fortunes and Honours. The City, that I think

I may say was one of the wonders of the world, if Pope *Innocent* the fourth were a competent judge, who desired not with *Moses* to see Gods glory, but to see with Satan the World and the glory of it, summed together in the riches of *London*, and the rarities at *Westminster*; this riches in some degree, and the subsistance of the inhabitants thereof, was as well devoured by the Suburbian thieves, and by the Countreys extortion for their Carts and conveniencies, as by the Fire; all which had their respective share in laying load upon *Londons* broken back, and upon the general distraction of, and in it.

Which I note, not to lay an Imputation upon all assistants, either as Labourers or as Carts; for some, and many I hope, and know by relation, to have been very honest and reasonable, but into those honest and happy hands God knows many of my goods fell not, nor the goods of thousands more, but into the hands of those Harpyes that devoured all they took, and cryed Give give, never to return again; where-

whereupon the argument must stand good, that the riches of *London* being only the possessors during the vigour of Laws and the ability of the Magistrate to circumspect every part of his charge, all disability of thine so to do, and so this distraction of the Fire must demolish the wall of seperation, and draw a line of level to whatever industry and villany during that rage will prey upon. For as *Inter arma silent leges*, so *inter flammas cessat proprietas*, and in such case Occupancy is judged by men unconscionable the best title, and the after Proclamations may endevour, return and threaten detension of goods so unjustly gotten, and some out of honesty, and others out of fear may return some parts, and others out of envy to those that have more than they may disclose things that by these means may come to the owners hands; yet notwithstanding all these, there will not be the tenth of the goods restored that were carried away purely in theft; so great and effectual a temptation is opportunity, to need where it is not re-

ſtrayned by conſcience, nay in this harraſs of Fire, and that ſo generally abſorptive of the City, then there is ſomewhat towards authorizing a ſcruple of conſcience, and abſolving perſons from the guilt of theft; In that what they took being in a kind of Land-wreck, wherein no body owned goods, and they deſerted and left to the Fire, muſt have been conſumed; better they were taken away by any to whom they would do good, then conſumed by the Fire which does nothing but hurt. And if they will now part with their dubious titles upon reaſonable terms, they that took away goods in a ſort wrongfully, will prove themſelves preſervers not raptors, which I in a great meaſure diſtruſting, do conclude that though the Fire in *London* might not come, yet it might be negatively continued from thoſe needy numbers who fiſh in troubled waters, being like the vultures in *publico malo falcies*, carrying more from two or three dayes ſuch diſorder, then they will by labour or patrimony get or ſave to themſelves all their lives. There is a ſtory in *Joſe-*

phus

phur of the Fire in *Antioch* which consumed the four square Market-place, the publick place where all Writings and Registers were kept, as also the Kings Houses; which Fire so increased that it threatned firing the whole City; *Antiochus* accused the Jews to be the incendiaries, and all the Jews were like to be slain upon the suspition and bruit of it; but *Collega* appeasing the people, and further inquiring into the matter, found the Jews wholly innocent, but certain impious people had done this being indebted, thinking that when they had burned the Market places, and the publick writings, that then their debts could not be required at their hands. And though if men thought seriously upon the judgements of God on such evill works and ways, such gains would prove but like *the hire of a Harlot, or like the wedge of Achan, or the Babylonish garment*, a curse to them and theirs, yet possession being nine points of ten of the Law to them, the advantage they in present (for further they look not) have by it, carries them

Book 7. c. 25. *de bello Judic.*

Mic 1. 7. Jos. 7. 21. 24.

them out to withdraw assistance from hindring its progress, which by their manual labour they might probably have done; so that though what has been written is intended to satisfie so full as it can, You (Sir) and all that read this, from concluding this to be from a supernatural cause, that is from Fire darted upon it from Heaven; yet does it not, nor can it in the least drive at making it a bare accident and a nude casualty, but a just and severe judgement of God upon the place and nation, auxiliated and perfected by concurrence of circumstances, benign to, and corresponding with a vastative event; nor is any evill of punishments on Cities, or Men, or Nations, but from God concurring with it, and exciting and carrying forth instruments to the accomplishing of it, [a] *The deliverance from the captivity of Ægypt, The raising of the Syrians against Israel, The defection* [b] *of the ten Tribes from Roboam, The* [c] *captivity into Babylon, The desolation* [d] *of Jerusalem by Vespasian, The afflictions of* [e] *David from his childrens lust and insolency, the*

[a] Ex. 13. 3
[b] Ezek. 9. 23.
[1] Kin. 11. 12. 13.
[c] Jer. 20. 4. Jer. 27. 9. Jer. 32. 3.
[d] Mi. 3. 12. Zec 1. 12. Luke 21. 20.
[e] 2. Sam. 13. 14, 15.

the misery of Job from Satans inrode upon him and his, The storm upon Jonah for his disobedience, The temptation of b Peter for his self-confidence, The thorn in the flesh for Saint Pauls elevation; The persecution of the Primitive Martyrs, which were the Churches Spawn, The Translations of Empires, The advance and reducements of families, The Marches and Counter-marches of men and things out of one posture into another, all these are circumacted by God imploying instruments of his in the managery of them. Thus though by good and evil spirits God leads about the world and all in it, bringing them into the mold and method of his own good pleasure both of wisdom and power; yet are these instruments so purely passive compared to God, that they are drowned in his omnipotence, whose vassals and visible puppets of agency they only are, nor are men to respect them but as bubbles raised up and flatted, as God the Master-builder of them, informs or deserts them.

Sanguis martyrum semen Ecclesiæ.

f Job 1. 12. & 2. c.

Jonah.

b Mat. 26. & 14 Mar.

i 2 Cor. 12. 7.

Which rectified notion proves a just

medium of expediency to those equally boysterous extremes of seduced men, who on the one side will have this judgement miraculous and Fire from Heaven without any natural assistance, Gods finger heavier than all the loyns of nature; or on the other side ascribe it so to second causes, that they will allow no more judgement of God in it, than that which accompanies common casualty; whereas indeed in this case of *London* there are so many concurrencies which have their attending cheques; which possible are to be, but actually were not improved in remedy that the prevalence of the Fire against, and in despight of those wonted prudences, and usual resistances, and the Latitude of effects, seconding such a neglect of impeding means, where so well understood, and so dexterously at other times practised; this I say duely and impartially considered must evince some more than ordinary concurrence of God to arm and enable those arising pimples to such a general distemper and mortification. And I pray God that this judgement

that

that has thus begun at the Houſe of God (For ſuch I dare account *London*) let prophane and ſuperſtitious defamers of it ſay what they pleaſe (God had more marked ones for *Mourners over and livers againſt the abominations done in the Land, in London*, then I believe in a great part of the Nation beſide) may ſtay there, and not proceed to thoſe that are yet preſerved who are no more righteous than their ruined neighbours; *Which the Lord of mercy grant for his Sons ſake.* Pſ 37. 37. Ezec. 9. 4.

Having thus (Sir) made way to the more Hiſtorical part of this Narrative, which falls in properly with the circumſtances of co-operation with the Fire, whereby it unhappily as to man, though happily as to God propagating his power by it) prevailed againſt the City, I come to the particularization of ſuch inſtances as were by wiſe men obſerved Fautive of its progreſs and concluſion.

And the firſt circumſtance notable in it is that of the *time* when it began, which was ominous as it was about 3. of the clock on a Sunday morning, a time

when most persons, especially the poorer sort, were but newly in bed, and in their first dead sleep; for Saturday being the conclusion of the weeks labour, and the day of receipts and payments, the markets last not then only all the day, but some part of the night, especially in Butcheries, and too often in Ale-houses, the Poors pockets then stored with mony overflowing mostly that way: And thence might the Fire get a more than ordinary rooting, from the leisure of its burning before it met with checque or suppression; Yea, and when it was discovered, the usuall custom being to lye longest in bed on Sunday might make men more indulge their ease, and remit their early stirring and wonted vigour, than otherwise they would; and besides this, amazements in the night are most terrifying to men even of courage, whom the dangers of the day are not at all discomforting to, because known and distinguished to be what they are by them; whereupon in that it pleased God to permit it then to break forth,

it

it was not without intimation of some displeasure: For usually it is with God to make dayes, places, and persons, peculiarly and devotedly his the instances of his eminent and wasting judgements, thus he is said in commissionating judgements *to begin at his Sanctuary, to give his beloved into the enemies hand, to tread the Daughter of* Judah *in a Wine-press, to make* Shiloh *the mark of his anger, to abhorre his people, and to hate Sacrifices, and to cause the Sabbath to cease from a Land, to cast down the Prince and the Priests his own Vicegerents, to make* Jerusalem *a hissing and an astonishment, and to give up his Temple and people into the spoil of the Nations, to suffer the blood of Jesus that speaks better things than did the blood of* Abel, *to be the blood of execration and indictment against them, who cryed out, Let him be crucified.* Jer.25.29. Ezek.9.6. Ps.78.61. Lam.1.15 Jer.7.12. 14.26.26 Amos 6.8 Isa.1.11. Jer.6.20. Isa.1.13. Hos.2.11. Lam.2.1. Jer.19.8. c.25.9.

These things thus by God ordered, and the method of his ordinary providence, inverted, and corrosion coming into the room of Balsamitiqueness; this ruling of Wine into Vinegar, and of Oyl into *Aqua Fortis*, (as I may say) argues

guest God highly incensed, and resolved upon destruction and vengeance. For some provocation unnatural, unusual, persisted in with obstinacy and in opposition to, and despight of the meanes and motions of reclaimer; And applicable hereunto seems *Londons* case, as to the time, to be suitable, for did not God make His holy day of Rest, a day of labour and disquiet? did he not cause the Church to be thin of people to pray to him and hear his Word from him? did he not cast off the care of his Sanctuaries and Ministers, and give them and theirs up as a prey to the Fire? because many of the people would not be present at their Churches according to the Law; nor many of the Ministers spiritually expend themselves, but according to the law of man, has not God dis-parished and scattered them, Priest from people, & Neighbour from Neighbour? Indeed (Sir) these things are to me observable, and that God who is a God of Peace and a God of Order, should bring distraction and disorder upon a City Regular and

Religious

Religious, upon his own day, and in the morn of it, to anticipate as it were, their conventions of expiation, and to avocate them from the use of a probable and prescribed remedy, argues indignation: For Gods promise to *Solomon* as a Type of Christ, 2 Chron. 7. 12. was, *If my people that call upon my name, shall humble themselves and seek my face, and turn from their evil way, then will I hear in Heaven, my dwelling place, and have mercy and heal their Land; For I have chosen this place to my self for an house of Sacrifice*; yet God seemed to walk contrary to his people of *London* in this, for he drew them as it were off from the remedy, *that his hands being loosened*, he might Dan. 9. 14. punish and not be prevailed with to pardon, which aversion of Gods from being intreated, imponderates the judgement with a weightier note of Gods displeasure, which the pensive Prophet *Jeremiah* rehearseth to this sense, *The Lord saith he hath swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob, and hath* Ch. 2. v. 2. *not pitied, he hath thrown down in his wrath the strong holds of the Daughter of*

of Judah, he hath brought them down to the ground, he hath polluted the Kingdom and the Princes thereof. This, this, is that which is not ordinary, that God began the Fire of his wrath on the day of his rest and solemn worship, and (with reverence be it utter'd) prophaned his Sabbath, which he commanded to be sanctifyed; as if the sins of the Nation punished in *London*, the head and heart of it were such as had procured a violation of all the methods of kindness and paternal goodness, whereby God wontedly corresponded with us, and as if he had recalled his former condescension, and would be in Covenant with us, and a Patron to us no longer; *This advantage given* Ia. 2. 15. *the passers by to clap their hands to hiss and wag their head at* London, *saying, Is this the City that men call the perfection of Beauty, the joy of the whole earth*; This, this, brought upon *London, upon a Lords day*, wherein were more Sanctifyers of his Holy day and Name, than in most of the Nation besides, gives the judgement a tincture, nay, a deep woad of intense displeasure

ſure, *He that commands, we ſhall not do our own works, nor think our own thoughts upon that day*, would not himſelf have ſet a foot this work, this ſtrange work, upon that day, nor have thought thoughts of ruine to a populous and ancient City, called upon by him, on that Holy day: But that the Notation of the day might leſſon us diſpleaſure extraordinary. Which I mention not to comply with any party whoſe conſtructions of Gods meaning are calculated to the Meridian of their intereſt, which has couched in it a ſecret reak of enmity to their oppoſites, and of applauſe of themſelves, ſuch as are on the one hand the outed party, who expound it to be for their ejection, or the other party, who averr it to be a puniſhment of Phanaticiſm, which they will have favoured and advanced by *London*, or of that proud party who will have it ſent for the pride of *London*, who becauſe the Citizens in it thrive and provide well for their Wifes, Children, and Relations, are accounted proud in their ſuitable livings

vings to their births, and Gods bleſſing upon their induſtry and thrift, or of that prophane party who will intrude their looſe ſentiments into Gods counſel, and confirm themſelves in their libertiniſm, to live, and ſpeak as they liſt, becauſe they ſee themſelves delivered, when the Preciſians of *London* (as they deridingly, and perhaps ſinfully call them) are plagued and puniſhed by Fire; I ſay not to dance after theſe miſtaken Pipes whoſe notes are beſides Gods Gammuth. All that I ſee or dare believe inſcribed by God upon the judgement is, that the ſin of the Nation, puniſhed by War and Plague laſt year, and yet unrepented of, is further proſecuted by God, thorough the ſides and heart of the chief Corporation and Maſter-City of this Iſland, *London*, whoſe burning is the Herald of God to the Nation, calling it to view its remaining doom upon its perſiſted impenitence; For as they were not the greateſt ſinners on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell, ſo were they the greateſt ſinners in *England* on whom

Eze. 15. 8.

whom the Fire of *London* fell, and whose Fortunes and habitations it has levelled; but except we punished, and others yet priviledged therefrom, repent, we shall all, and altogether perish.

The next remarkable circumstance in this Fire, was that of *Place* wherein it first began, which was *Puddinglane*, a place so called, but from some eminent seller or sellers of Puddings living of old there, it being usual to take denomination of Lanes and Streets, not only from mens names, chief owners of, and dwellers in them, but from some other accidents from whence they are denominated; thus as the Lord *Baynard*, Lord of *Baynards* Castle, gave name to Castle *Baynards* Ward, and Sir *John Basing* to *Basing-hall* Ward; so streets have been called according to several occasions, as *Lothbury*, because Founders and Braziers living therein, made every one Loth the Street for the noise; *Bread-street*, *Milk-street*, *Wood-street*, *Candlewick-street*, and infinite others were called from the *Bakers*, *Milk-*

Stowes Survey.

Milk-woven, *Wood-buildings*, and *Chandlers* that in quantity dwelt there, which is evident in the Survey of *London*, so is this *Pudding-lane* called; For that Lane bordering upon *Thames-street* and *Billings-gate*, where people of labour and poor condition ply, and are early in the morning, and late at night, when the Tyde serves to bring up Fishermen, Passengers, and other Boats and Portages; the vicinity of such a good house as they call them, wherein Pudding, the general beloved dish of English men was sold, might reasonably bring the place in request, and thence give denomination to the corner wherein the seller lived.

This little pittyful Lane, crowded in behind little *East-cheap* on the West, St. *Buttolphs-lane* on the East, and *Thames-street* on the South of it, was the place where the Fire originated, and that forwarded by a Bakers stack of wood in the house, and by all the neighbouring houses, which were as so many matches to kindle and carry it on to its havock; thus the Fire meeting with the Star Inn on *Fish-street-hill*

hill on the back of it, and that Inn full of Hay, and other combustibles, and with the houses opposite to it, and closed with it at the top, burned three ways at once, into *Thames-street*, (the lodge of all combustibles, Oyl, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Hops, Wines, Brandies, and other materials favourable to Fire; all heavy goods being ware-housed there neer the water side, and all the wharfs for Coale, Timber, Wood, &c. being in a line consumed by it) unto *Fish-street-hill*, till it met the other Fire at the Bridge, to the Interval of Building, and to *Butolphs-lane* into *Mark-lane* in *Tower-street*; and in all this Savage progress met with no opposition from Engines or other Artifices; because it was impossible in such a strait, and in such a rage of Fire, they should be serviceable; for if all the Engineers of mischief would have compacted the irremedyable Burning of *London*, they could not have laid the Scene of their fatal contrivance more desperately, to a probable success than there where it was, where nar-

row Streets, old Buildings all of Timber, all contiguous each to other, all stuffed with aliment for the Fire, all in the very heart of the Trade and Wealth of the City; these all concenting in this place, put a great share of the mischief upon the choice of the place.

And hence there may be a more than ordinary argument, that this choice was not a thing of accident but contrivance, and meditation for some time. If it were by the Instrumentality of Man only permitted by God, for so was the Plot by *Mendoza* as *Throgmorton* and *Parry* confessed: So was the Vault under the Parliament House, in the case of the intended Powder ruine by *Fauxe*, great enterprises alwayes requiring grave perpendment of the method, by inspection, circumspection, and retrospection, before they be reduced into act; forasmuch as in the defect of due adjustments and prudent libration of what weight they will and will not beare, suitable whereunto must every particle of the composure be

Speed p. 872, 873.

be framed and disposed, not only the whole Fabrick sinks and proves effete, but the actors in it, and the well wishers to it, prove ridiculous, if not ruined, which causes that axiom to be so acclamated among Politicians, *Deliberandum est diu quod constituendum est semel*; nor do wise men and fools differ in any thing more than in those specifique actions which are denominative of them, fools running hand over head, and wisemen going fair and softly, surely though slowly; and probable it is that the many forraign minded and addicted subtilists amongst us, adjuuated by the needy miscreants and desperadoes at home, might do much to the production of this Centaure, which so speedily devoured more houses of State and Residence, and more wealth and value in Merchandizes, and other better things, than many years wars could spend, or many years labour can get; yea, the victory of any thing beneath an *Indies* will be but a ten groats composition, for a 20 *s.* lost.

And if God, who knows all things,

and whose infinite wisdom is past finding out, or hiding from, stirred up evil men to act his counsell to punish *England* by *London* this way, that should need (as it were) no second to it, then we have all great cause to take off our thoughts from evill instruments, men; and place them penitently upon evil Sin, for which *Gods thoughts are upon us for evil, and not for good*, and we have just ground to bemoane our ways and doings which have not been right before God; for the punishment whereof he sends such sweeping and unchecqued judgements, such as a Fire is, which has no ears to hear the cryes of the sick, weak, aged, lame, who are in danger to perish, by not being able to remove themselves from it, nor happy in being tendred by others who will in that disorder pity them; nor eyes to see the cryes and moans of those Widdows, Orphans, and spoyled Creatures, whose tears are Orators potent enough to prevail with any thing but its inexorability, *When God gives the inhabitations of*

London

London for Fuel to the Fire, when he sets his face against them, that they shall go out from one fire, and another fire shall devour them then this had, 'tis said. And this was the case of *London*, the fire removed from in one place follow-to another, yea, sundry there were that removed two or three times, yet lost at last, and that not only by evil instruments who forfeited their trust and took advantage of the confusion incumbent on all men, but by the very Fire which broke in, like waves of the Sea, and raged like a Beare, robbed of her Whelps, untill it had executed its errand, and made that predicable of *London* which *Florus* writes of *Samnium*, so destroyed by *Papyrius* the Roman Consul, *Ut hodie Samnium in ipso Samnio requiratur.* So that though the advantage of place was much in this as in other cases, *ubi plus valet locus quam virtus*, and though there might have been rational and probable anticipations of these conflagrating progresses, yet were they altogether hid from the eyes of those whose interest in com-

fort and fortune it would have been to have improved them.

The third circumstance of furtherance to the Fire was that of the *wind*, which was not only not still but boysterous, and such as carried it to, not from the City, and turned to fan and blow up the Fire East, West, South, and North, at some time or other during the Fire; like that judgement God threatned upon *Elam*, 49 *Jer.* 36. *Upon Elam will I bring the four Winds from the four quarters of Heaven, and will scatter them toward all these winds, and there shall be no Nation whither the outcasts of* Elam *shall come.* So *Josephus* sayes, the providence of God turned the Fire the *Romans* put to the wall of *Jerusalem* upon the City, by reason of which the Fires natural tendency was carried forth to oblique as well as direct effects of wasting, that is, spread it self this and that way, till it had prevailed every where, spreading it self like an Armys wings first drawn forth, and the main body marching up to it: Which com-

Antiq. l. 7. c. 2.

plication

plication of circumstances inductive to and in augmentation of, a mercyless fate, argues this Fire to be no ordinary judgement, but to be sent as an evidence of God incensed, and of sin the meritorious cause of it out of measure sinful. For if the punishment of one single element be dreadful, as the water was to the old world, and the Air is in pestilential infections, and the Earth was when it opened its mouth to swallow up *Corah* and his company, how dreadfully sinful are those provocations of a land or person That God punishes with double and treble judgements in their judgement? what vengeance is that like to prove, which has Gods Armies of fire and wind united, when his single army of Insects are enough to destroy *Egypt*? and when his negative hostility is productive of Famine to consume his enemies? Whom, because they would not serve in the abundance of all things, he will press to serve their enemies, and be ruined by his bringing upon them the want of all things? And if *Jonas* his storm at Sea

was so dreadful, that he swallowed up in it, is said *to call to God out of the belly of Hell*, 2 *Jonah* 2. What a Hell of confusion and torment were the inhabitants of *London* delivered from when their lives were in the rage of Fire and Wind, and when the Fire carried the noyse of a whirle-wind in it, and was so informed with terrour, that it surprised the eyes and hearts of men with fear, as well as their houses and goods with flame? So that this wind from the Lord was not a wind like that of *Numb.* 11. 31. which brought the *Israelites* quayles, a wind of benignity, nor such a wind as God made to pass over the earth to return the waters into their Trench after they had inundated the earth, and absorped all the gayity of it, *Gen.* 8. 1. but a wind it was that carried away and rent asunder, by leading on the Fire upon its prey, a wind it was that was commissionated to joyn with the Fire to devour above 2 third parts in the midst of the City, as the phrase is, *Ezek.* 5. 2. And this is that which in the concurrence of two such

potent

potent circumstances renders it more than ordinary as well in the intention of the chief cause as in the operation of the mediate ones. For had God antipathized and severed their conjunction, they had not done that complicated mischief they did, but in that they corresponded each with other, and both performed a savage charge upon *London*, routing her Beauty, Riches, and being in a great degree, it is not to be doubted but as the instrumental enemies rage is glutted with the booty of his option and designment, (those that prophesied of its firing before it happen'd, being probably the principal contrivers and furtherers of the firing of it, & those that blew the coals, heated the iron, and made all things ready to further it) so the Lords anger in permitting such a success was great, and the humiliation, for it ought to be serious and sacred; for if God made the wind winged, I allude to that passage in *Zach.c.* 5. *v.* 9. to proportion the fire to its breadth as well as boisture of fury, if this judgement like that of the *Caldean* God

speaks

speaks of in *Hab.* 16. must march through the breadth of the City, if the flying roul of Cutting had its length and its breadth, as the Prophet *Zachary* has it, 5 *ch.* 2. 1. then this fire and wind in its length and breadth of procedure and subversion, being a great judgment, calls for length and breadth of humiliation before God for it, yea not to be suitably affected for the provokings of sin, is to be deservedly punished once for all; incorrigibility is next door to final impenitency, the merit of utter subversion.

And truly, when to all this it is considered that the Fire burned at some time contrary to the wind, and as it were in opposition of it, and then did as much spoil unto whatsoever it approached, & was as unchecquable then as when it had the winds raising and chasing it, then surely there must be great ground to conclude that this wind as well as this Fire come from the Lords anger, and that whatsoever in it was besides the usual import of Fire in a place of so great help and experience to obviate and Master it,

was

was by the precise appointment and commission of God, who does not only Authorize the Sword to do execution upon the world, but employs Air, Wind, Fire, Water as well as other Creatures to be his Bailiffs to Arrest, if not his Devils to ruine them. And if further it be ruminated, that Gods proceeding by pauses, (which though not very deliberate, compared with fatal protracted ones, yet mild weighed against the method of Gods firing and consuming all in a moment as Sodom was) seems to insinuate that God in this might expect a man or men holy before and accepted with him to stand in the gap, and propitiate (as it were) for the City, whereby the Fire might have been forced back and carryed off; the non appearance of such, whose spirits God touched with holy Charity to Gods cause and their Nations weal, shrewdly insinuates a suspicion that God by removing or suspending the impediments might conclude the formidable illness that it had, when God not only hides himself from his people that

pray

pray, but calls off his peoples devotion from prayer for pardon, that so his wrath may take its full course, and burn so that none can quench it. In such a case Gods expectation being defeated, it is time to sit down under Judgments with confession of our doing wickedly, and justification of Gods righteousness in whatever he hath done.

The fourth circumstance of aid to the Fire was the drought of the season and the want of water, which had not only prepared the combustible matter for a speedier reception of igneous Atoms and Contacts, but prevented application of remora's and extinguishments, to both wind and fire; For as showers usually lay winds, so winds abated, usually mitigate fires. Here then was another instance of propagation to this fire, that God suffered it to carry all before it, and to be impeded by nothing specifiquely its check, whereby is argued in a good measure Gods allowance of the quarrel and his conduct of this his artillery of havock, and besom of severity;

for

for God having created all things in proportion to the whole of his design, and placed in nature ballances and repulsives as well as insolencies and pestilences of assaults on harmony, when these repulsives shall be exinfluenced, and their vigour not only be abated, but their contraries prevail and be effectual, then is doom inevitable, and the consequence as fatal as the counsell of it, unsearchable. And this was Poor *London's* case, God had given us a long brightness of weather, and made every thing so dry, that it was of it self, by the length and efficacy of that exhaustion, *in potentia proximâ* to fire, and the Springs were so low, and the Engines of raising water so destroyed, that there was no suitable appease to it, applicable, whence it came to pass, that as a Buck that is not able to run must yield and die, and a Vessel that cannot bear steerage and sails, must be surprized and taken, by wanting the conveniencies to flight, and a Souldier that has lost his sword and shield must submit to his Enemies quarter, bow manly soever his courage

be,

be, so in the defect of those obstacles to fire, it unavoidably must follow that whatever the fire can do it may and will do, for all natural stays being absent, the battel is gained without stroake, and the possession got without so much as challenge.

For as in ways of mercy God makes every thing ancillary hereunto, as he suspended the fires consuming in the case of the three Children, and in the bush which burned but consumed not, and as he does in invigorating dry bones, and in making the weak things of his institution to confront and evict the mighty oppositions of flesh and bloud, as he bears down the daring Monarchs of humane Learning, and precipitates the fiery Sciolists of superstition by the piety, zeal and humility of illiterate men Apostoliz'd and made by him unopposable, God making his little and low Ordinances as the world esteems them, *the foolishness of preaching*, and the faith of a Crucified and derided Saviour, paramount to all more subtil projects of captivation, because conducted and

blessed

blessed by him who is all power, wisdom and duration, and therefore can be neither abbreviated or defeated in his volitions and resolves. (All things working together for the good of his Elect, and his counsel ever standing like Mount *Sion* which can never be removed.) As I say in his paths of kindness and obligement to man he predisposes and forecalls severalties to their Randezvous, and draws forth such services from them, as conduces to his own honour and his holy servants security and comfort by them, so in order to judgements does he ripen and forward them by such assistances and proper adjuncts, that the beauty of penal providence is maintainable from them in spight of all artifices of wickedness to Eclipse or cashire it; *Thus when he will destroy a sinner, he hardneth his heart against his fear*; and when he will give Victory to his Armies, he causes a noise of horsemen and Chariots, and drives them away in fear when none pursues them, yea he will and does prove a Terrour to wickedness even in the pleasure of it, as

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he did in the hand-writing upon the wall to *Nebuchadnezzar*.

What alas signifies *Haman*'s rage, if God deny him favour with *Ahasuerus* as wontedly, and bring in *Ester* his Enemy to his superſedal? What avails *Sampſon*'s ſtrength, if God give a key to the ſecret of it, which reſides in its unſhavenneſs? To what purpoſe is *Achitophel*'s policy, if God turn it into fooliſhneſs and countermand the aids and cooperations with it, we put all our endeavours and attainments in a broken bag; if God be not the bleſſing of them, if he ſpeaks no *fiat*, folly is the beſt prognate of our contrivances; ſo neceſſary is Gods allowance and aid, that without it all is abortive and amort.

As then when God is in mercy or judgment preſent, all things are as they are propereſt to be, ſo in his abſence on either ſide, there can be no thorow effect of either, for all things obſerve him, and as when he ſays Goe they Goe, ſo when he ſays recede they depart, as he gives heaven-

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ly influences in mercy, so he withdraws them in wrath, he makes the light darkness, and the rain fruitlessness, the suppression, the exaltation, the death, the life of his, manifests to the world what *He* is; and when He has famine, pestilence, sword, or any other noyance to charge a man or Nation with, he withholds seasons, showers, salubrity of air, and causes the fire of animosity to break out into war, and no endeavour of honourable peace to be offered or accepted, he withdraws remembrance of old leagues and ancient obligements, he casts a veil upon true Christian advantage, and will not render its amability to the view of judgment and impartiality, and he suffers such intricacies to clog breaches once made, that they are reconcilable by no *Tertian*, nor are they admissive of any expedient beneath that dubious, fatal, and I had almost said uncharitable one, of *aut vincere aut vinci*, *either get or lose all.* And thus God pateries the way to his displeasure, in that he drys up the pooles of supply in the

wilderneſs of need, and as a moth of corroſion in place of a horn of ſalvation.

And if the *drought* and ſcantneſs of water upon a Land, be a judgment, as God teſtifies it to be, 50 *Jer.* 38. where he ſays of the Caldæans, *a drought is upon her waters, and they ſhall be dryed up, for it is a land of graven Images, and they are mad upon their Idols*; and God is ſaid to call for a drought on the Land upon all things man and beaſt, *Hag.* 11. as a token of his diſpleaſure, then to want water when fire burned, and to have the buckets of heaven and the lodges of earth exhauſt of water to quench it, (there being no rain of along time before the fire, and both the Springs low; and the Water-works at the Bridge-foot which carryed water into that part of the City burnt down the firſt day of the fire.) Thus, thus for it to be was no ſmall judgement, for as it is a mercy to have God a ready help when trouble is near, ſo is it a judgment to have his creatures denyed when there is moſt uſe for them, when their preſence is

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ſalviſique and repulſive, when God gives a ſtomach to eat and no food to ſatiate it, *When he opens his peoples hearts to pray, and yet hides himſelf from them, and will not be found of them*; when he that is all plenty becomes a barren wilderneſs, and he that is all power contracts his arm and will not out-ſtretch it. When he that commands the Seas, Winds, Fire, and they obey him, raiſes thoſe Elements by evil inſtruments, and remands them not into their reſtraint, but ſuffers them of ſervants to become Maſters and inſtruments of ſpoil and terrour; This unconcernedneſs of God, when his great arrows are thus ſhot forth of his Almighty bow, and fixed in the very hearts of mens delights and recumbencies, ſo that they ſee all that was dear to them ruined before them, and they rendred helpleſs to themſelves, can not chuſe but be a ſignal of Gods indignation. And we may conjecture God ſends his fire to puniſh our fire, his wind to reward our wind. Levity and zealeſneſs for Reformed Religion, and enmity and uncharitableneſs in

See Letter Arch-B. Shop Tork to K. James. Cabala 2 part. p. 13.

matters of *no moment compared to provoking one another to love and to good works*, has undone all; repining against God and against one another has had a notable share in this judgement, and as this puts the charge into Gods Cannon, so has undervaluation of God, ramm'd home the charge to fit it for fataller execution; In 78 *Psal.* 21. God had smote the rock and the waters gushed out, and yet the people questioned, Can God give bread in the wilderness? The Lord, says the Psalmist, *heard this, and was wrath, and a fire was kindled against Judah and anger also came up against Israel*; And I pray God this late harrass of us by a more than Gottish and Vandallique fire, be not the stroke of some such brutish and unchristian provocation of God, For greater and more expres indications of Gods power and goodness has no Nation ever had then we, never any Nation less conformed to the call and mercy of it then we; Gods Jewels have had their righteous souls vexed amongst us, and they cry out to God as *David* did, 57 *Psal.* 4.

My

My soul is among Lyons, and I lye among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men, whose teeth are Spears and Arrows, and their Tongue is a sharp Sword. And may not God, to revenge this offence to his little ones, hang the Millstone of his fury about our necks, and cast us into a Sea of misery, and into the pressure of a helpless condition? may not he pour out the fury of his anger and the strength of battle? May not his anger set us on fire round about, *and we Lay it not to heart though we be burned by it?* as the words of the Prophet from God are, *Jer.* 42. *last.*

O that this were seriously considered, that it might work a penitential reflexion in us upon our ways and doings, which have not been good; For which God has both lengthened and strengthened the sphere and activity of the Fire, to inundate things sacred and civil, and to be repulsed from neither the water manageable against it, nor the wind dormant in it, but has been provoked by every thing that might make our guiltiness

ſuſpect that God having kindled the Fire in our gates, made it unquenchable, till it had left nothing almoſt further to ruine! And I pray God it were not a Saboth days puniſhment, for many Sabbath and Faſt days prophanation, 17. *Jer. laſt.* This I ſubjoyn, to ſhew that where God ſhews his diſpleaſure he does it by all inſtruments of advantage to his purpoſe, not only deſolating chief and remarkable places, but by denying all combinations of aid againſt it, that ſo the judgement might not ſo much ſip as ſwallow down its full draught of waſte and conſumption; that as he made them all things in perfection, ſo he may ſhew us that he can ſo perfectly deſtroy them, that the place of their once being, ſhall be known no more.

The fifth circumſtance of augmenting it, was that of the choice of place that this Fire was to work its woe upon, the Heart of the City, both for Houſes of State, Trade, Charity, publick Magiſtracy, moſt of which it took into its Cyclopique arms, and crumbled into aſhes, for its burning

was

was from *London* Bridge to neer the Temple, both upon the Street side and on the bank of the River, its expansion was from a good way low into *Fanchurch-street* to all the houses that were upon the hilly part of *London*, *Candlewick-street*, *Gracious-street*, *Lombard-street*, *Cornhill*, a part of *Broad-street*, *Thred-needle-street*, *Throgmorton-street*, and so up *Coleman-street*, and so all up to *Cripplegate*, to *Alderſgate*, all *Newgate-market* to *Holborn-bridge*; Thus from the East to the West it proſtrated Houſes, Halls, Chappels, Churches, Monuments; all which it ſo flaked and enervated, that it has left few ſtanding walls, ſtout enough to bear a roof, without new raiſing or charge of repair equivalent to new building; which argues the Fire more than ordinarily in earneſt, when it was not only not impartial, but not copable with by thoſe Gyants of ſtrength that uſually outſtand the ſhock of Fire; yea, it brought to aſhes that Goodly and Generouſly uſeful Pile *Sion-Colledge*, the place of my then comfortable and beloved Reſidence,

D.D. One of the Residentiaries of St. Pauls.

whose foundations (laid by Dr. *White* and perfected by Mr. *Simpson*, Twins of precious memory, and the ever to be celebrated benefactors to *London's* Clergy, and Religions Increment) it demolished; For which I cannot but grieve as much as for mine own great losses both in and out of it, because it was a publick Dedication to God in a good and graceful accommodation to persons of Learning, and aged Poverty; the former sort of which had access with welcome to its fair and well-furnished Library six hours in the day duely and freely open to all commers, whom the honest and understanding Mr. *Spencer*, (the trusty and Aboriginal Librarier, yet living, and yet faithfully attending the remains of the Books, (for which he deserves to be well rewarded with a fixed Pension during the little restancy of his life) conscionably and with much diligence and humility attended; And the latter sort persons of Poverty being twenty of both Sexes chosen Alms-folk into the Colledge, were quarterly relieved out of lands appointed thereunto by

by our Reverend Founder. This Colledge, I say, not added to (God knows) in Lands by any since its Foundations Gifts (though God has made its Library, a good part of which is preserved, and safely lodged in an upper Gallery by the Favour of the Honorable Government of *Sutton's* Hospital) increase by the gifts of pious and charitable Gentlemen, Citizens, and their Widows and Children, as also by good additions from the *London* Clergy, and by others formerly well addicted to it, amongst whom that Learned *Grandeus* long since deceased and now with God, Mr. *Walter Travers Bachelour of Divinity*, ought as he deserves to be remembred, the greatest Benefactour to it of any Clergy man whatever since the two Reverend Founders: This, this, Beloved *Sion* so nobly design'd, and so kept up in its Credit and Reputation, till the unhappy dissolution hereof by this Fire, was burned down and ruined; only the Case of the Library and some of the Gate-piece yet remains, but so shattered that long it cannot stand, nor suddenly is it like

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to be repaired; the fire of the Colledge lying for three Months since the fire open, many of the Materials embezzelled, too few resenting the detriment that Religion and Learning will receive by the neglect of it, so that the remains within the Freedom that were exempted this fire were only from *Leaden-hall* to the Barrs without *Algate*; from *Bishopsgate-street* Corner in *Cornhil* to the Barrs without *Bishopsgate*, and from *Moore-fields* first postern Gate along the wall with *Broad-street*, from the Church up into *Bishopsgate-street*, from *Cripplegate* to the Barrs in that Parish, from *Aldersgate-street* to the Barrs above in that street, and all the compass without the wall, from thence to the end of *Cow-lane*, and from *Holborn* Bridge to *Holborn* Barrs; these together with the houses, from near *Iron-Mongers Hall* in *Fanchurch-street* up to *Algate* and down *Mark-lane*, till within near twenty houses of *Tower-street* end, with *Crutched Fryers* and the Appendixes thereto, were all that of the Liberties of *London* were preserved, which

which I reckon not above the twentyeth part of the City Freedom in quantity, nor the hundereth part of it in value of houſes, and all this waſte committed by the mercyleſs flames in four dayes, the ſpeed whereof added to the quality of what it preyed upon, argues the judgment remarkable and paſt preſident.

For it was wont to be computed amongſt the choice mercies of God to *London*, that it was ſpecially protected from fires, notwithſtanding the houſes were moſt of Timber, very contiguous each to other, and had conſtant and fierce fires kept in the hearths of them night by night, and thoſe later than in any City of the world; the good Government thereof making the night as ſafe for Paſſengers as the day, which gave occaſion to more free and more laſting hoſpitalityes in her then otherwhere are practicable. And yet ſo has God in all times preſerved *London*, that ſuch a fire as this never before was kindled in her thus to prevail over her.

Ferox Flamma urbes multas Eccleſiam quoq; Sancti Pauli Apoſtolicum majori & meliore parte Londonia conſumpſit. Dunelm. p. 214.

I read indeed of great Fires of old in her, In *Anno* 764 when many Cities and places were destroyed *igne repentino*. *London*, *Dunelmensis* sayes, was one, and in *Anno* 798, *London* is again storied to be burned, *repentino igne cum magna hominum multitudine consumpta*. In *Anno* 982 *Temps Ethelred* there was a great Fire. In *Anno* 1087, *Cambden* tells us the Spire of *S. Pauls* was so high (*quæ ignem cælestium provocavit*) as his words are that it was set on Fire by Lightning, *arsitque non sine Magno totius urbis damno*, in King *Stephen*'s time there was a Fire that began at *London Stone*, and consumed all unto *Aldgate*; Not to mention the smaller Fires which have been many, the damage whereof has returned only upon private persons, These have been the remarkable Fires: yet none of them were such as this, not only because *London* was not then near what now it was, nor the consumption of it by them proportionable to what it was by this Fire; which was not a Fire that pick'd and chused, but a *Have at all Fire*, a Fire that took into its possession 81 Parish Churches,

P. 106.

P. 114.

p. 267.

Speed P. 39. *Cambd. in Midx. Eat.*

Churches, and at least 6 or 7 Chappels, & other Churches answerable to them, amongst which, the famous Cathedral of St. *Paul*, was one, so incinerating the Glory & Emasculating the vigour and firmness of them, that the standing Walls are (for the most part) unable to bear new roofs, the sturdy Supporters of them being enervated, the Monuments in them burnt to powder, the Bells in the Steeples melted, the Vaults underground pierced, the Stones of the outside so scaled, as if the Fire was greedy to eat out all firmness in them. Thus God spared not *Shiloh* in the day of his feirce wrath, but destroyed the Gates of *Sion*, together with the habitations of *Jacob*.

Add to this, that the Fire reached the very Wombs and Mynes of Charity, the Worshipful Societies of *London*, to whose honour I dare erect this Trophe, That of all the Societies in *England* or *Europe* none excell, if any parallel them in discharge of their Trusts, which they punctually and indispensably do *Modo & forma statutis*, not transgressing any appointment of

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the Donors will, except it be in enlargement of his charity as it improves These, that were the maintainers of aged Poor, whom they housed decently, and salaryed competently; These, who were Benefactors to Young men of their Societies, whom, upon security to make good the Principal, they lent hundreds a pounds to persons, upon none, or very small Interest, to begin the world with, by which (with Gods blessing,) they grew rich and wealthy in after times. These, that gave out Portions to Maids Marriages, brought up poor Children, fitting them for all Callings; let good Penyworths to their Tenants; hospitably treated Strangers, and their Members at their Halls, allowed comfortable exhibitions to Young Scholars at Universities; gave Presentations of Livings in City and Country to worthy Clerks; maintained bravely their Guilds, Common Halls, Servants and Utensils. These, that upon all publique occasions of Triumph, made up the renowned Pomp of *Londons* Festivals and appearings. These, These, are

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in a great measure ruined; Eleven of the Twelve chief Companies Halls (the goodlyest buildings one with another in any one Town in Christendome) being burnt down, the Furniture and Utensils of some of them wholly lost, besides the spoil done to the 24 Companies, very many of whose Halls and Incomes are likewise destroyed. Amongst which, that of the Company of the *Stationers* is sad; the Common Stock of which valued *re vera* at between Twenty and Thirty Thousand pound was imployed to yeild the profit of the Joint Stock to those Old men, Widdows, and others qualified (according to the Laws of their Society,) who were allowed respective proportions in the same; None of which exceeding above 360 *l.* made way for the more accommodation of perticulars, than if they had allowed men to have put in greater Sums; This so good a security, and so gainful a proceed to many aged *Stationers*, their Widows and Children, This Dreadful Fire has wholly consumed, and over and above destroyed

stroyed of the Members of this Society and other Booksellers and Printers in *London*, near to the value of 150000 *l.* in Printed Books and Copies, besides the loss of their Common Hall and other Houses and valuable things belonging to them. And if one and but a mean Society, compared to other Societies of the City has thus suffered, what incredible detriment have the Societies joyntly suffered? How many aking hearts, hungry bellies, bare backs, will this Winter shew us helpless by want of their Charity? How many impoverished Tenants, how many wandring Pilgrims, outed of Houses, Callings, Acquaintance, has this caused? Yea how many not only valuable parts of intrinsique wealth, but Writings, Evidences, Charters, Joyntures, Contracts, Mortgages, Bonds, Acquittances, Books of Accompt has this consumed? It were endless to wade into the confusions hereby made, into Hospitals laid waste, and their Inhabitants, Children, and other aged persons turned out to the cold weather, helpless in themselves because decre-

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pit through Age, or tender by reaſon of Childhood; yet uncapable to be helped by others whoſe hearts prone enough to it, are not ſeconded by their Purſes provided for it, Churches levelled, and their Poor and painful Clerks at once robb'd of their Tithes, and over and above of the charities of thoſe that are now companions with them in Miſery & Poverty; Publick places of Magiſtratique diſpatch bare of all Beauty, and viſible only in their deplorable Ruines. The Houſes of Hoſpitable and Wealthy Aldermen, Merchants, and Shopkeepers ſwept away, and they themſelves either fled, or cooped up in ſome hole of Covert, the Maintenances of Widows, Orphans, and others ill Marryed, brought to nothing, and they by means thereof either forced to beg or to work for a Livelihood, and glad they can get the Bread they and theirs may Eate; This is that God has done to *London*. He hath not *ſpared in the day of his fierce wrath, but hath covered the Daughter of* London *with a cloud in his anger, he hath ſwallowed up*

most of the habitations of its Jacob, *he hath thrown down the strong hold of the Daughter of* England, *and hath polluted the Kingdom; he hath violently taken away his Tabernacles, he hath abhorred his Sanctuaries, the Elders of the Daughter of* London *sit upon the ground and keep silence*, to allude to the *Prophet* Jeremiah *writing of* Jerusalems *ruine*; *Behold, O Lord, and consider to whom thou hast done this*, To *London*, the Chamber of *Englands* Kings, To *London*, the chief of *Englands* Empire, To *London*, the Native place of Princes, Prelates, and men of Renown, To *London*, that Ancient and Rich Magazine of Trade and Wealth, whom men called the Perfection of Beauty, the glory of the whole Earth, To *London*, the Citizens whereof were men of Bloud, Fortune, Valour, men of Renown as those of *Tyre* was, To *London*, the Non-such of orderly Government and of frequent and fervent Religion, *Adeo ut Religio & pietas hic sibi delubrum collocasse videatur*, as the Learned

Lament. 2.

Londinum totius Britanniæ Epitome, Britannicique imperii sedes, Regnumq; Anglie Cunctra tantum inter omnes eminet, quantum inter viburna cupressus. Cambd. Britat. Edit. 1587.

ned Antiquaries words are, To *London* the inexhaustible Secret of her Princes, To *London* the Treasury of Men, Money, Arts, the *Rome*, the *Athens*, the *India* of *England*. To this *London* hath God done this, Weep O Daughters of *England*! for this *London* who cloathed you in Scarlet, but now is her self cloathed with Confusion, Mourn ye Princes and Grandees for this, because the mighty City is fallen which once was the Market of what brought you Wealth and Peace; For this *London* who took off your younger Sons, making them thrifty Common-wealths men, and in time returned them to you Great and Noble, for your Daughters who into it were comfortably bestowed, and from it were richly provided for in their Persons and Issues. For their Eldest Sons, whose Wives portions, the provisions of Younger Children, were hence plentifully had, without sale of Land, or diminution of Income; Weep O Peasantry! who had *London* for a Market

Fons imperii, orbis Terrarum Mater, gentium, Regionum contubernium pacis aeternæ consecratio, Sanctus Hyeronimus; lete cloaca Roma apud Ludovicum. Dorleans in Comment ad l. 1. Annal. Tacit. p. 2.

Grande illud & ante Tempus invictum caput Syracusæ quamvis Archimedis ingenio defenderetur, aliquando cesserunt. Jornandes l. 1. *de Regni & temporis successu.*

swallowing up all Provisions for it, and all quantities brought to it. Weep O Poor! that in *London* had great relief, Weep O Aged! who in *London* were refreshed, and prepared by constant Devotions and hourly Sermons for their dissolutions; Weep all, High, Low, Honourable, Mean, for *London* was, but is not!

O Populum dignum orbis imperio dignumq; omnium favore & admiratione hominũ ac deorum compulsus ad ultimos metus. Idem.

London, despise it who will and dare, the Great and Flourishing Sprig in our Princes Plumes, the Pyramyd of conspicuity in the admired Pile of *Britain*. The *Græcatrojan* Horse out of which marched many of the *Hectors* of *Englands* courage; The great Academy of Arts, wherein the Learning and activity of all parts united; The Hospitable Sanctuary of all distressed strangers, who thither came numerously, and there were entertained civilly; *London* the great Bulwark of reformed Religion against the assaults and batteries of Popery and Prophanness, is in a great measure destroyed; O tell it not in *Gath*, declare it

not

not in the Streets of *Askalon!* lest the Uncircumcised Levellers rejoyce, and the Enemies of God and the King, the Parliament and the Religion say, *Ah, Ah,* so would we have it.

O Day, O Month, *September*, not more inauspicious to many Famous Cities, such as *Jerusalem*, (a) begirt the seventh and entred the eighth of *Sept.* (b) such as *Constantinople* which was wasted by fire *Anno* 465. In the beginning of *September*, such as *Heidleberg*, which was taken by the Imperialists about *Anno* 1620. And now to *London* in this Fire, of *September* 1666. I mention no more, though probably those forty which (d) *Calucsius* mentions in his Chronology, might yield more in execration of *September*, I say not more triste to other parts of the World, and to this Nation in general, then to Me in particular; For it hath been successively within eight years Productive of a Quaternion of unhappinesses to Me; The loss of an Excellent Wife, of an Indulgent Father, the

(a) *Josephus* lib. 7. c. 16. *de Bello Judaico.*
(b) *Nicephorus* l. 15. c. 21. *Evagrius* l. 2. c. 13. *Baronius* Tom. 5. 465.
(d) See *Chronol. Calucsii Edist Quarto Impress. Francofurti.* Anno 1650.

affliction of a terrible Sickness, all which happened to Me in *September* 1658. and now were added to by this of *September* 1666. wherein it pleased God to give me a fourth tryal by Fire, that I may for the future learn to devote my portion of Soul & Body to him in the sacred and serious service of him, *Which O Lord I desire to do as, and when, thou shalt call, enable and accept Me*;

Futre qui exstutarent XIIII. Calendis Sextiles Principium incendii hujus Ortum quo & Senones captum urbem inflammaverunt. Tacitus Annal. lib. 15. p. 791. Edit. Dorleans. *de incendio Romæ.*

This is my particular apprehension of *Septemb.* which *Sept.* thus the time of *Londons* firing and *Englands* Misery, let it be Discalendred, and not be numbered amongst the Twelve, let it be accounted the *Judas* Month that betrayed all the rest to infelicity; *Let that day that first opened the Wombe of fire be darkness, and let the shaddow of death stain it, let a Cloud dwell upon it, let the blackness of the day terrifie it; as for that night let darkness be upon it, let it be solitary, and no joyful voice come thereon, let the Stars of the Twylight hereof be dark, let it look for light but have none,* as holy *Job's* pathetique is

c. 3.

upon

upon a like dismal accident and occasion, because it produced a Monster, and diminished the enjoyment of present, and the hopes of after-ages, and cast into the Widows disconsolacy. *Her*, that sat as a Queen upon a hill of plenty and honour, viewing all the Nations doing homage to her, as to the Faithful City, as to the City of Righteousness 1. *Isaiah* to 26, as the City of praise, the City of all Joy, as *Damascus* was called 49. *Jeremiah* 25. as the City of Renown, who was strong in the Sea, that caused their terrour to be upon all that haunt it, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* describeth Tire. *c.* 26. *v.* 27. *London*, the Earthly Paradice of Cities, having the glory of Gods Ordinances, and the light of his Reformed Truth in her, shining like a Jaspar stone, clear as Crystal; The foundation of the Wall of which City was garnished with all manner of precious Stones; Its Government, its Magistrates, its Ministery, its Fraternities, its Franchises being all Emblematical of, and Symmetrious with the Greater Ones of the Nation, in the

best and clearest instances of its Royalty. This *London* ancienter is is thought than *Rome*, and more potent though less politique then she, that has her Oar in every Boat, This *London*, (*which its learned Native*, and Englands *admired Antiquary* * terms such, *that none hath better right to assume to it self the Name of a Ship Road or Haven, than she, For in regard of both Elements most blessed and happy it is, as being situate in a rich and fertile soil, abounding with plentiful store of all things, and in the gentle ascent and rising of a Hill, hard by the Thames side, the most mild Merchant (as one may say) of all things that the World doth yield) hath swelling at certain set hours, which the Ocean Tides, by its safe and deep Channel, able to entertain the greatest Ships that be, daily bringeth it so great Riches from all parts, that it striveth at this day with the Mart Towns of Christendom for the second Prize: thus her* Cambden. This *London*, I say, who was to those that lived in it, whatever Heaven and Earth could indulge a Militant condition and a viatory state, did God give

Camd. *Britain.*

up

up to the destruction of Fire. So that now there is little resting in it but Piles of Rubbish, and Mountains of waste, no neatness of Pavement, no Magnificence of Structure, no vestige of Majesty, there only now is to be seen the the tops of Steeples Belles, and the Stones of Structures Mortarless, and the figures of Beauty disfigured; no Pallaces have the Magistrates to sit in, no Prisons, as wontedly, to hold Offendors in, no conveniency almost to sustain Order to its future hopes, but God has made it a *Bochim*, and scattered the Inhabitants of it into all quarters: Thus has God done to *London*, our *English Jerusalem*, the joy of which was heard even a far off. More I could Write, and more of this I had written in a Commentary on the Chartar 9. *H.* 3. For election of the Lord Mayor of *London*, but that with many other Manuscripts fitted for the Press, together with the general collections of the study of my life being burned, I can only weep my kindness to her; *Quid faciam, vocem pectori negare non audeo, amor ordinem nescit*; And

32 Neh. 43.

And if *London* the place of my Birth, and of my longest dwelling, should not have all the right my poor Pen can do it, It deserved not to be accounted any thing tending to the Pen of a ready Writer, nor indeed is it, but I hope it will be accounted & prove it self to be the Pen of a veracious & well meaning Christian *Englishman*, whose glory it is, not so much to subdue Divels of danger, & to level Mountains of difficulties, as to be owned a Friend to Learning, a Servant to Religion, a Native of *London*. And if I forget thee, O *London!* let my right hand forget her cunning, and they that forget thee by their cold Prayers, heartless Tears, Vituperious Sarcasms, Secret rejoycings at thy ruins had best to remember that the Inundation of thy *Thames* may cool their courage, and thy tutelar Angelique Patron, become thine avenger on them, for God has fixed an immortal spirit in *London*, the horn and branch of which, will sprout out to her detractors amazement,

Franci illi qui pugnæ superfuerunt Londinum *convolantes, Jam jam urbem perdaturi erant, nisi* Tamisis *qui nunquam* Londinenses *deserit* Romanos *nubibus per errore nebuloso maris à classe abductos opportunè intulisset* Cambd. *in* Middx. *p.* 265.

ment, and though she sit now in darkness, yet the Lord shall be a light to her. While *England* is an Empire, *London* will be the Metropolis of it, let who will dote on that Northern Prophecy, which some thought fulfilled in stout Bishop *Montaigne*, *Lincoln was*, *London is*, *York shall be*; yet the very Learned and Noble Geographer Dr. *Heylin* is so far from cherishing that, which has any reflexion of Eclipse to *London*, whose misfortune is as it were the prodromus of the Nations misery, that he discreetly docks, the recitall, *Lincoln is*, *London was*, &c. And Ingenious Dr. *Fuller* (who will be more valued in after ages, as most are, than in their own) upon this Proverb, thus writes, *But as for those whose hope is* York *shall be the* English *Metropolis, they must wait until the River of* Thames *run under the great Arch of the* Ouse bridge. However *York* shall be, that is, shall be *York* still as it was before, for if *York* (I write for my Native City, and no City or person ought to be offended with me for my zeal for *London*) would ever

Cosmogra. phy. p. 316.

History Worthies. p. 227.

have

have overpoyſed *London*, it was probableſt to have been when the union of *England* and *Scotland* into *Great Britain* was, becauſe of its neer ſituation to the Two Kingdoms then conjoyned. But then it failing by the advantage *London* gave to the ſeat of Government, above that or any part of the Nation, the River of *Thames* that flowing up to her, cauſed her foundation at firſt, will I truſt in God forever keep her in her Metropolitical ſtation, and add to her Paramouncy of renown, as the *Urbi æternabilis*, as *Rome* is called, For ſo ſhe ſeems to be framed after the Protoplaſt of the Nation, that ſhe anſwers every feature and digeſtion of parts in the Greater Body. As if the Providence of God and the Policy of Antiquity, had ſet her as a Glaſs before her Monarchs to ſee the paths and perfections of the greater Government, in the methods and manageryes of her the leſs. And ſo far does *London* anſwer the favour of her Soveraigns in their indulged liberties to her, that ſhe hath the ſuffrage abroad to be one of the moſt Auguſt, Regular, Religious, Subaltern Governments in the world. And

Cauſa fundationis Civitatis Londinenſis Fluvius Thamiſis liber Dunthorne.

And now (Sir) after a more than usually long digression, I come to the last Circumstance promoting this desolating Fire; which was that Dread and pavid manlesness, that seised the Inhabitants, by reason of which, they not only fled before the Fire, leaving it to its forradge, and not checquing it while dealeable with, nor anticipating its Progress by pulling down or blowing up buildings before it; For by this did every mans unmanly example discourage, till at last the hearts of men were in their heels, and every hand (as it were) became Palsie thorough terrour of apprehension; there being a kind of Divination in men introductive to, and fautive of, the victory of the Fire over both their houses and endevours; For as *Josephus* well observes, *when God has designs to accomplish, he puts upon men the guilt of humane errour and incredulity, by which they think it not lawful for them to avoid their future calamity, neither shun they irrecoverable destiny, which as it was the case of the Jews when* Nebuzaradan *led the Jews captive into* Babylon, *burning* lib. 10. c. 10. *init.*

burning the goodly Temple and razing the City. So was it (in a great measure) the condition of *London*; for though the Inhabitants had seen many Fires, and seen them soon again upon Gods blessing on their endevours quenched, yet This, This Fire was from the beginning of it, a Fire of amazement, a Fire bespoke by them to be portentuous, they gave up all by common Opinion & mistrust of vote unto it, God stopped some ruling mens ears against Counsel, and filled other mens hearts with terrour, the rich packed away, effæminating their endevour by the securings they made of their Wives, Children, and Goods, and those not only near and within view, but remotest from the Fire, when no colour or prudent probability gave judgment to warrant such doings. But yet was it done, and thereby the City undone; for had not that exportation been, their diligence and success against the Fire would have been trebled, and suitably for ought any knows have prov'd successful; the prayers and tears of some cooperating with the hands & heads of others, being more

Diligentissima in cute sua cl Fortitudo.

probable

probable securities to communities, then such courses of astonishment which tended to presage of depopulation, and was a holocaust to nothing but the extortion and thefts of Forraigners, and had not God been more merciful, to Outrage and Savageness.

Which seisure of the Inhabitants, and over early pregustation of Woe, disarming them of all agible judgment and prudent succour was if not the τὸ ὅλων of, yet the τὶ μεγὰ in the judgment. For as in the body natural, when the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars be darkned, when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, as the Preacher describes old Age, *c.* 12. *v.* 2, 3. Death is at the dore, so in the body Politique, when manly Courage flags and the spirit of people fail them so that they crep about like walking Ghosts; there is a sign that God is the cause of it, and punishes by it; when God turns mens pleasure into fears, 21 *Isay* 4. when fear prepares for the pit and the snare, 24 *Isay* 17. when fear is on every side, 6 *Jer.* 25. when

God

God ſends a voice of fear, 30 *Jer.* 5. and when he ſeconds the voice with real fear, 48 *Jer.* 43. and thoſe that fly from fear ſhall fall into the pit, *v.* 44. when God ſends a fear from all thoſe that be about men, *c.* 49. *Jer.* 5. This fear of exatlantation ariſing from guilt, and its puniſhment poorneſs of ſpirit, is that which is the Judgement and Curſe of fear.

Now this God does to make way for his execution, and to render the endeavour againſt it leſs potent, and to ſave himſelf the drawing forth of his Almighty Artillery; This he doth to ſhew that his wrath is perfected by rendring enemies paſſive to his power as well as bybecoming himſelf active in power irreſiſtible; And as in evidences of mercy, The righteous ſhall be quiet from the fear of evil, 11 *Prov.* laſt, and be not afraid of ſudden fear, 3 *Prov.* 15. and Gods people are dehorted from fearing other mens fears, 8 *Iſay* 12. And God, St. *Paul* ſayes gives not his Elect the ſpirit of fear, 2 *Tim.* 1. *c. v.* 7. ſo in diſplayes of judgement fear ſhall amate and terrifie wicked men,

nen, God will mock when their fear comes, when it comes as Desolation, 1 *Prov. v.* 26. 27. Fear shall be upon the Land, 30 *Ezekiel* 13. Fear fell upon all them which saw Gods judgements, 11 *Rev.* 11. This not only real, but opinionative and imaginary fear is the Crysis of the judgement, therein lies the vigour and execution of it, when God gives up the Pilot to neglect steerage and stoppage, when the Marriners that should ply the sails and pump, prepare for planks and shipwrack, when the light of reason is under a Bushel of passion; and impuissance is regent in the soul and senses, when the right hand not only knows not what the left hand doth, but hath forgot it is a right hand, or a hand, and hangs it self down folded, when the sluggards dilatorines is upon men, and they will sit still a little longer, and pause a little more, till sorrow and misery come upon them like an armed man; These remisnesses in cases of strait and Paroxisms of instancy, argue *Phrygian* wits, and arrive men at woe with a witness. Thus was *Troy* lost by

Baptista Gramay Description of Asia.

the sloth and carelesnes of her Inhabitants. And thus, Sir, was *London*'s Fate and fyring, helped forward by the extremes of some mens precipitancy and other mens dilatorines; For had but Industry led the Van, Security probably, or at least not this havock, would have Marched in the Rear, but because some neglected the fire to save their Moveables, and others neglected removing upon belief (therein, Sir, I accuse my self who was one of those unbelievers) that the fires limits would be within and short of them and theirs, the fire diverted not from its persuit, but devoured the Goods of many, and the Houses of all, so dangerous a thing is that, which the consequence calls unpreventive wisdom, that the want of it is censured by many (whose fortunate fright has proved advantageous to them) to be wanting to their own good, and helpers forward of their own Woe.

And yet (Sir) God often impregnates his severity with this which is the Talent of Lead in the Ephah of judgment, that men shall not see the

Zach. 7.

day

day of their Visitation. This fetched tears from the innocent eyes, those Casements and out-looks of the tender heart of our Lord Jesus, who beholding the City *Jerusalem* wept over it, saying, *O that thou hadst known, even thou in this thy day the things that belonged to thy peace*; This is that which becalmed *Jerusalem*, who sate as a Queen and knew no evil, till at last Misery came upon her in a moment and desolation as a whirlwind, when men and Cities *have Babylons doom to be cast into a deep sleep*; so that sooner may all be crumbled down about their ears, and they buryed in the rubbish and confusion of their downfall, than they awaken, when God brings a high repose on *Saul* in the Cave, and makes him secure amidst bare and watchless weapons of defence; Then either men are taken napping as *Saul* was, or are ruined nodding as *Eutychus*, but for a Miracle had been, and nothing but mercy reached out of the Clouds can save them from their perpetual sleep and unawaking period, 51 *Jer.* 57. Now though (Sir) it be too heavy a

29 Isa. 10.

1 Sam. 26 12.

20 Acts 9.

guilt to charge this on *London*, yet how we of this City can discharge our selves of it, I do not very well know, unless we take refuge in that rule, *Quos perdere vult Jupiter dementat*, or in that *Quæ fata manent non facile vitantur*, which *Tacitus* makes the salve for every fatality, *or unless the day of Visitation being come, and the time of recompense being on us, God makes the Prophet a Fool, and the Spiritual man mad*; that is, brings Prescience, Counsel, Courage, Constancy in all degrees of their activity out of date, giving men up to the just surprise of ridiculous stupidness, and to obstinate contumacy against the dictates of them. And if God had not intended much of this nature to be evidenced in this Case of *London's* trouble in order to the whole Nations abatement, he would not have charged home this assault in the time of *London's* weakness, when so many of the Good and Grave Magistrates of *London*, men of steddiness, experience and power in the City were in their Graves, when many of the

Weeping,

Weeping, Fasting and Praying Intercessors of her Clergy, whose Office it is to expiate for her, were either absent or disseised (by fear) of that vigour which their hands and *Prayers in full Assurance of Faith nothing doubting* might otherwise have expressed against the judgment. Nor would he have made the hearts and hands of the people of *London* so languid and unactive in this day of their Concern; But thus, and only thus it was preordained of God to lesson the Nation that God can bring down high thoughts, and that the scorn and contempt of Religion and sober sincerity in Her and in her skirts, might be punished with an amazing and insolite judgment, that those that are round about and are not less guilty than *She* that is punished, *May hear and fear and do no more presumptuously.* For though *London* be the place smitten and afflicted by God, yet because that cannot be charged on her that *Josephus* relates of the seditious Jews that had gotten head in *Jerusalem*; *I will not cease to speak that which grief* L. 6. c. 16. de Bello com. Judaico.

compels me, I verily think that had the Romans forbore to come againſt theſe ſeditious, that either the Earth would have ſwallowed the City up, or ſome Deluge have devoured it, or elſe the Thunder and Lightning which conſumed Sodom, *would have light upon it; For the people of the City were far more impious then the* Sodomites. Thus *Joſephus*, becauſe I ſay (though wicked enough *London* was yet ſo wicked it was not (but as regular and Religious a City, and as full of thoſe that feared the Lord, and called upon his Name, and that Mourned for the Abominations done in it, and in the whole Land as any I perſwade my ſelf the world then had or at any time ever had) To convince the incredulity and ill-will of refractory ſpirits of the truth of which; God I believe reſerved a Remnant in it, and was mercyful to the Bodies and Goods of the Inhabitants of it, the greateſt part of whom and which are now bleſſed be God reſient dwelling and Trading in the remains of the Freedom, and in the reſerved Suburbs. This (Sir) *Shall be written that the Gene-*

rations

rations to come may know it, and the people that are yet unborn ſhall praiſe the Lord; For if the Lord had not been on our ſide may London *now ſay, If the Lord had not been on our ſide when the Fire roſe up againſt us, then the Fire had ſwallowed us up quick when its rage was kindled againſt us*; Yea, certainly God never mingled a Cup of wrath with more Mercy than this, which was rather Phyſick than Poyſon, more a Paternal chaſtiſement, then an extirpating Vengeance.

For whereas he Marched againſt *Jeruſalem* of old, charging her from his pale horſe of fury, bringing truculent and bloudy Enemies againſt it: *Romans*, *Syrians*, *Arabians*, all which accompanyed *Veſpaſian* againſt it, and that then when there were 270000 Jews which came to Sacrifice, ſhut up by the ſiege in it as in a Priſon, and were ſlain and ſtarved during the ſiege and at its rendition, whereof 600000. were caſt out of the City in ſuch diſtreſs that a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold for a talent which is 600 Crowns, and the dung and raking of the City ſinks was held L. 7. c. 16. *de bello Judaico.* L. 6. c. 16.

good Commons, and necessity made a Mother kill her Child and dress it, and whereas the dead Bodies lay so thick, that the way by them was not passable, the whole City flowing with bloud; so that many parts set on fire were quenched by the bloud of them that were slain, and after all the City was burned, whereas God thus punished *Jerusalem* by giving it a Cup of trembling, and filling it brimful with deadly Poyson, leaving no remnant from which succession should arise, or rebuilding, and re-inhabitation become probable and effective, yet to the praise of the glory of his Grace be it written, and be this loving kindness of the Lord never forgotten by *London*. It was not with *London* as *Tacitus* writes of *Rome*, *Sequiter clades, omnibus quid urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt graviorat; atrocior.* Annal. lib. 15. p. 791. Edit. Dorleans. No bloud of the *Londoners* was mingled with their Sacrifices; that is, no violent effusion of bloud was in *London*, no Famine during the fire was in *London*. God indeed made the Inhabitants of

London

London during the distraction like Reeds shaken with the wind, its Streets were confusedly walked and hurried about in, thwack'd with Carts, pester'd with Porters and Portadges, every house threw out its Furniture, which they could not carry away more orderly, Men, Women, Children of all degrees and ages carried out somewhat, either to safety or spoil, some sent their Goods into the Countrey, others into the Feilds and other Open places, watching them many nights, and others removed them from place to place to lose them at last; yet though this was sad, God gave them their lives for a prey, and they had had the Pity, Presence, and Comfort of their Good King, and the Noble Duke of *York*, with the most Generous Lord *Craven*, and others, for Guards and Securers to them and theirs. There were indeed bruits of fear, and there were companies of suspicious persons who at the best, live upon the vices of the Nation, and who like Coasters ride out at Sea, to expect prey from wrecks, and small Boats which they

can

Scyllam inopem unde præcipuum audaciam Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. p. 159. *Ex edit' Eudovici* Dorleans.

can Master and prey upon, such Cormorants of pillage and snaps of ruine My Lodgings were an eminent instance of before they were burned, yet open violence there was none to speak of, but much even of exemplary Justice, and charitable Mercy. In the time of the Fires raging, and of the distractious impetuosity; which I write not to vindicate the dissolute Multitude of pretended Labourers, and other instruments of carriage (who exhansed the rates of their own portadge, while perhaps their Wives, Children, and Servants, or some of them, were busie at other work, all becoming theirs which their hook could reach, or their Net drag away.) Nor yet do I mention This to atone the displeasure had against those Country Carts and Labourers, some of whose wages exceeded the worth of their Lading, or the ability of the persons they in this distress exacted it from, From these so dreadfully Mercenary to their sensual gain, as no more Justice or Courtesie is to be expected than is haveable from a Spoyler, who must leave

leave what he cannot carry away, and who does not take all, not becauſe he cannot find in his heart ſo to do, but becauſe he is afraid ſo to do, whoſe avoydance of extortion is from wiſdom of caution to prevent trouble, not upon Conſcience of duty to approve himſelf to God and to Humanity. From Theſe, I ſay, as no Mercy or Juſtice is (upon reſolution) to be expected, ſo the Juſtice and Mercy of Theſe, do I not in the leaſt intend to mention by way of praiſe) the Juſtice and Mercy then remarkable, was that of many Honeſt perſons, who well underſtanding the Duties of Conſtables and Officers, became voluntarily ſuch to preſerve peace and prevent diſorders, aſſiſting Government againſt the common rout, apprehending and deteining ſuſpicious perſons till they brought Good vouchers and cleared themſelves. And other Guards and Foot Souldiery upon duty, anſwered the end of their array, and did not only not do violence to any, but ſecured all againſt the violence of any that attempted it; it was not with the Suffe-

rers

rers in this Fire, as with the *Jews* when the *Romans* besieged and Mastered them, and they were envyed, the Gold that was supposed to be in their Bellies, it being noysed that they had swallowed down much, which caused some of the *Roman* allyes in one night to rip up the Bellies of 2000 of them, to search for that they found not, which *Vespasian* hearing of, and the cruelty of it abominating, caused them to be compassed about with Horse, and to be destroyed; No such truculency was acted here, but the Citizens wer suffered to secure what they could, and to pass and repass with what possible freedome and security the exigency of affairs would permit, The Souldiers riding about, and being their guard and help. Thus did King, Duke, Peers, People, Souldiers, do their parts, but Gods Counsell stood, and he did with the Buildings and Riches of the City, what came in his Soveraign mind to do, by reason of which, the beauty, vastness & order of *Lond.* came down to its Chaos in four dayes, which had been climing up to its Meridian above

6 lib. c. 16. *De bello Judaic.*

above 2000 years, exchanging its name of a goodly City, for the reproach of a graceless heap; The rumination of all which particulars, that God suffered a City saved by the Lord from the miseries of War, and the mercylesness of Insurrection, Risen by grave pauses and Centuries of time into a Miracle of stature, accommodated with all ingredients and concentrations to publish and establish it in request and value, Whose appositeness for Trade, was Magnetique of all Nations and Merchandises to it, Whose Credit for order and honesty, lewred Strangers out of their Countrys to reside in it, and kept them here, and naturalized them to it, Whose Government was effectual and sweet; To ends of terrour and obligement, whose Customes and Franchises were beneficial and stated, Whose Citizens were Rich and Hospitable, Whose appearances were pompous, and becoming their Descents and Fortunes, That *London* which was so celebrious for publique Edefices of State and Religion, that it was not possible almost to wish better

Impetu pervagatum incendium, plana primum, deinde in edita assurgens inferiora populando anteriit remedia velocitate mali. Tacit. Annal. lib. 15. p. 791. Edit. Dorleans.

or

or more remarks of Christian Devotion and Politique Grandeur in such dimensions as it stood upon, That this City which once deserved the Union of all Characters of glory, vying with *Rome* for Religion, with *Naples* for Nobility, with *Millan* for Beauty, with *Genoa* for Statelyness, with *Florence* for Policy, which *Venice* for Riches, That this which was compleat *usque ad Invidiam mundi*, as I may so write, should become inglorious, and be the Subject as well of her Enemies insult, as of her Friends pity; This Inscription of Gods fury on the Roll of her Judgment, Lamentation, and Mourning, and Woe, ought to call us, From joy and melody, from pleasure and riot, which God has caused to cease, unto prostration and confession before God; And that not by Hanging down the head like a Bulrush for a day, and returning to our Sin the next day, like the Dog to his Vomit, not by presenting our selves in the Congregation of God, which too few do, and there only counterfeiting Devotion for an hour only, but following it with unmortified bestiality

26 Ezek. 13.
7 Jer. 34.
16 Jer. 9.

stiality and inhumane luxury, not by bare words of piety without any reflexion of them on the heart, or any evidence of the truth of its radication, in the Flower of it, the life; Humiliation that God commands and accepts is deep and setled, the souls contusion and exinanition, such abhorrence as *Job* speaks of 42 *Job.* 6. an abhorrence of a Mans self, and of that Sin that cleaves closest to him, and is most connatural with him, and a repenting *in dust and ashes*, that is an evidence of self condemnation in the vivid'st and most exact note of it, in that which is Emblematical of the lowest dejection, such a frame of Soul as weeps bitterly with *Peter*, and makes restoration with *Zacheus*, and rejects the former allurements to Sin with *Mary Magdalen*, and resigns up it self wholly to Christ Jesus *as consternated* Saul *did when Christ dismounted him, and he became his Convert*, such a humiliation as *Manasses* and the Good men in *Nehemiah* presidents us to in the 9. *Neh. where 'tis said the Children of Israel were assembled with fasting and Sackcloth, and with* Earth. 9 Acts 6.

V. 1. 2. *Earth upon them, and the seed of* Israel *separated themselves from all strangers, and stood and confessed their sins and the iniquity of their Fathers*; Such a humiliation as pulls with indignation sin from its Root, and suffers no corner of the Soul or Land to be fantive to it or polluted by it, such a humiliation as is in sincerity and truth commensurate to the God of Truth whom it is devoted to, such an humiliation as includes the Kings, the Peers, the Prelates, the Clergy, the Laity does God call for, and that in proportion to that Epidemique mercy that he hath obliged all by, and suitable to that heavy and repeated judgment he hath already brought and farther may bring upon all, such a humiliation as excuses, no degree, no age, no person from it

13 Jer. 18 does the Lord require from thee, O
2 Chr. 12. *England!* and from thee, O *London!*
C. v. 6. To whom he hath shewed *Mercies of a former or latter date*, parallel with, if not paramount to his manifests to any Nation; He hath called us Belo-

28 Deut. ved who were not beloved, and cau-
13. sed us an Island to *become the Head and*

not

not the Tail of the Nations, He hath brought us into the marvellous light of Christianity, who sate in darkness of errour, and in the shadow of death through Ethnicism, he hath not been a wilderness to us, nor planted us in a barren soil, but given us a *Canaan*, flowing with Milk and Honey, a Land rich in Corn, Pastures, Cattel, Fruits, Fish, every thing that necessity and delight calls the glory of any Land, God has raised us up *Kings, Rulers and Judges, not* è Fece populi, *but derived from loins Noble, the Sons of Honour and Majesty, who have been Nursing Fathers to our Pieties, Persons and Laws*, God has preserved us from Vassalage, and made us free in our persons and properties (safety and propriety being in the Kings Protection and his peoples subjection, according to the Law.) God has preserved the Rights and Renown of *England* so, that the Subjects of it are famous for Valour and Success in their Enterprises by Sea and Land, God hath made this little spot, that in the Map of Chorography is hardly discernable, a Mart

11 Jer. 5.

10 Eccl. 17.

of Trade and a Mine of Wealth, which the inexhaustion of this last twenty six years, by Sums unsummable, and in their possibility to be adjusted would be incredible, yet have not drawn low, but preserved pregnant to carry on its just and necessary Interests against her potent combined Enemies; These Mercies to *Engl.* ever since her Christianity, recognised by those abridgements of them in the Reigns of the five last Princes equalling all other anteceding them, The Reformation of Religion by *E. 6.* The deliverance from the cruelty of Popery in Queen *Maryes* Reign, The Restoration of Protestancy in Quen *Elizabeths* dayes, in spight of the Jesuited Plots, Spanish Invasion, expensive Wars purposely raised to distress and divert her; In the Reign of King *James*, whom God brought in rightfully, setled quietly, and deliverd from the fatal Powder-Plot, to leave his Crown Rich and Great to his Successor, the late Glorious King *Charles*, ὁ μακαρίτης (whose Reign was as beneficial, and peaceful, for the most part of) it as any preceded,

See Fish p. Carleton's Thankful Remembrance of Gods mercy. See Dr. *Sharpe's* Letter. *Cabala* p. 256. 259. 2 part.

and had made the Nation as happy after a Cloud, had not God punished and polluted the glory of it with the storm of Contradiction in a Civil uncivil War, and with the guilt of the bloud of that, *Solomonique Codrus* whose life was sacrificed to vindicate the Religion and Laws of Loyalty and Liberty, against the Oppressions and Insolencies of Antiscriptural Errour and Antimonarchical avarice;) These five last Reigns in which the Princes and people of *England* were kept from either the sufferings of publique mischief or the long and grievous detinue under it, shew Gods Mercy to this Nation, and call for humiliation from it; And if these so long past are not fresh in our Memories, as God forbid they should, (being done but within the Age of those that yet Live, and God forgive if they be, which ought to be had in everlasting remembrance) yet there are Obligations of late which are Monitory to us of Mercy abused and ingratefully deported to.

And here give me leave (Sir) to Apostrophize as God did by his

1 Isa. 2. Prophet *Isaiah*, *Hear O Heaven, hearken O Earth, bear witness* Angels and Men, and our own Consciences, whether God has not nourished us *up that are now alive as his Children, and yet We, we have rebelled against him*; O Sir, the Mercies shewed to our Glorious Lord and Renowned Soveraign of *England*, our Gracious King *Charles* the Second, whom God long preserve and Sanctifie thoroughout both in Body and Soul, are the Marrow and Fatness of all Gods Treasury of Mercies concerning this life; His seasonable departure and safe arrival beyond the Seas, when he might have been in the same hands his blessed Martyr Father was, His Conduct and Preservation while abroad, in the condition of a Pilgrim, & under the Eclipse of a Pensioner, His preparation to reduction by his opposites disunion, and his Subjects better prospect into their Seduction & combination against those Artificers of their former delusion, His Generals and ever Glorious Father in fidelity to him, and success for him and us. I make bold (with His Majesties gracious Pardon humbly implor'd) to use the

the Compellation that I have heard reported to be given him by His Majesty (the now beloved and deservedly admired Duke of *Albemarle*, his sagacity in carrying his intents undiscovered, till he had both enabled himself and disabled the opposites to discover or defeat them; The honest and wise Parliament of 166.; their pliableness first to publish, and after to act the security and seasonableness of his Restoration; The passivity of a potent Army and Party formerly against him, which fore-seeing what is come to pass, yet opposed nothing at all, at least to no purpose, but rather in a great measure forwarded the mercy by their activity. The advantage that accrewed to His Majesty upon his reverter, not only of Money and Monyes worth by Offices, but by Improvement of Lands, & by other valuable perquisites; and besides all, the love of his Subjects, who adoring the rising Son of so blessed and lamented a Father, and accounting themselves delivered by him, and Establishable against relapse only from him, Sacrificed

all to him, Their persons and fidelity to him by Oath, Their Laws, Liberties and Purses to him by Parliamentary pliableness, Their Prayers to him by thinking that best done which he did, and their prayses of what he did, as acceptable to them, and magnified by them; This, this Sun-shine in the harvest of their hopes; This, This Rain of Fertility after *Englands* Sultre of war and dissention. This mercy of Inundation in the joy of *Englands* King *Charles* returned, is a mercy from the Womb of the Morning, which the light sprung from on high visited us with, a Visitation it was of Gods Light and of his Truth,

126 Ps. 4. *Of the light of his countenance in making our Captivity like the Rivers of the*

126 Ps. 5 *South*, a reaping in joy after a sowing

31 Prov. 21. in tears; *of the Truth* of his Promise, *The seed of the Righteous shall not be forsaken, of the truth of his Paternity to us who thus remembred us in our low estate. For his mercy endureth for ever.* This, this prosecuted and perfected by his deliverances from Insurrections at home, from Confederacies

racies against him abroad, from the violencies of ungoaly men, and from the dangers and uncertainties of war, This raising of him in his Reputation, and making his Adversaries appear little to him, Is the Matchless mercy of God to him, and is Gods Envoy and Herald to beseech *His Grace* to suitable subjection to him, and to circumspect Sanctimony before him.

And if O *England!* and O *London!* God has thus obliged thy Monarch, and his Peerage and his Prelacy, and his people of all degrees. Then what O *England!* does God require of this Renowned *Recipient* and Lodge of thy mercy by the distributions from whence thou art refreshed and inriched, then that thy Monarch with all his Train of dependants, do execute Justice, love Mercy, and walk humbly with his and their God. Answer God O *England!* Prince and people in this requiry of his? *Do Justice upon sin, the abominable thing that he hateth*; upon sin of all sorts, of all degrees, in all persons, Execute the Laws impartially while they stand in Force, Re-

peal them if they be supernumerary, mitigate them if vexatious, explain them if dubious, adde to them if too short to reach and redress emergent evils, and be not over-come of the evil of partiality, but over-come that and all other evil with the goodness of publique spiritedness, which aims at entailing Gods blessing upon him and his. For he hath not only said he will forgive the sins of those that execute judgment, 1 *Isay* 17. 18. But has promised that those *that Execute judgement, make* their *shadows as the Night in the midst of the Noon-day, hide the out-casts, and betray not him that wandereth, to have their Thrones be Established in mercy, and their Posterity sit upon them in truth*, 16 Isa. 5. yea with execution of judgement, God whose Throne is Established by Righteousness, & whose ways are Mercy and Truth, is so takenat, that He promises to pardon a great and sinful City, *Jerusalem*, if *in the streets and in the broad places thereof, there can be found but one man that executeth judgment and seeketh the truth*, 5 Jer. 1. Thus to

do

do Justice is to please God, if it be seconded by *Love of mercy* to Gods poor and afflicted Ones, Relieve the oppressed, visit the Fatherless and Widow in their extremity, be not a terrour to those that do well, do not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoaking flax; Let the long-sufferance and patience of God to you make you compassionate to those whose errours you ought to pity and pray for, rather then punish, Let Gods Longanimity in your renewed Conscience break out upon their passions in Victory over them; and in vertue expressed to them that are contrary minded to you, and think that the noblest Conquest that makes you triumph over mortal *wrath, which accomplishes not the Righteousness of God*, and that carries you out under every weight that would suppress your heavenly ambition to take heaven by force, and to lay hold of eternal Life, and to carry away the assurance of God yours in the Talons of an Eagled faith, which looks upon the Son of Righteousness boldly, and which mounts to the Throne of glory with

1 Jam. 20

with humble confidence; This, O Prince and People of *England* is to *love mercy*, To seek out every true and sacred object of it, To neglect no manifestation of it to such, To be unwearied in such welldoing, To expend every measure of it with Eye to him in heaven that doth command, cannot but accept, will without fail reward it; He that remembers that Gods Extraordinary benevolence to Man is phrased by shewing mercy, 14 *Num.* 18. 3. *Lam.* 22. 103 *Ps.* 8. 11. 17. and that he promised his mercy and loving kindness, he will never take from His, cannot but promise himself great comfort in shewing mercy, and greater in loving mercy. For God delights in the mercy which is complacential and flows from the bowels and beeing of the shewer, and because he delights in mercy and is a God merciful and gracious, therefore he requires Men his Vicars, to love mercy; Evil men may occasionably shew mercy. But good men only love mercy. Thus O *England!* thou hast invitations from thy God to performances of doing justice

34. Exod. 6.
2. Chron. 30. c. v. 9.
103. Ps. 8.
3. Jer. 12.

justice and loving mercy; Nor is this all, but there is another requiry æquivalent to these in the coordination of which, Gods postulation of thee is answered, *walk humbly with thy God*; This, This, O *England!* is thy duty and interest to propagate also, for there can be none of the two former without this latter, there is no demeanour national or personal under-mercies, true and uniform, without the Condiment and Ballast of this, Humility in owning God the spring of all authority and enablement to do justice, and love mercy; is that which carries the grace of resolution to its period of performance, Let God, O *England!* O *London!* have all the glory of what ye have arrived at, while some put confidence in Charriots and Horsemen, and say their Bow hath brought them their Venison, and their Councel and their Confederacies has thus befriended them, while they boast of their hearts desires, 10. *Ps.* 3. and of a false gift, 25. *Prov.* 14. while they boast in their Idols, 97. *Ps.* 7. and of too Morrow which they know not what it may bring forth, 17. *Prov.* 1. 49. Pf. 6.

do

do thou, O *England!* boast only of God all the day long, 44. *Ps.* 8. and so moderate your minds, under all your mercies that ye may be *termed the Ministers of our God*, that ye may eat the riches of your Enemies, and in that glory shall you boast *your selves*, 61 *Isaiah* 6. O *England!* O *London!* the Countrey, the City of my birth breeding, and love, how considerable an Interest is this to thee, præponderating all those of Moneys, Men, Navies, Armies, though all admirable and useful, yet without thee thus prostrate and devoutly nothing in thine own Eyes, thou art nothing before God, nor wilt thou be any thing against thy Neighbours, but in this, and in the strength of Gods might by this, Thou wilt be more than a ballance to them; Thou wilt be a Victor over them, for God saveth the afflicted people, 18. *Ps.* 27. that is the humble people, 2. *Sam.* 22. c. v. 28. 49. *Isa.* 13. and To *England* and To *London* thus afflicted & pænitent for their sins, God I trust will commiseratingly say as once he did to his Church by his Prophet,

O Thou afflicted, tossed with Tempests, and not Comforted, Behold I will lay thy Stones with fair colours, and lay thy Foundations with Saphires, and I will make thy Windows with Agates, and thy Gates of Carbuncles, and all thy Borders of pleasant Stones, and all thy Children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy Children. 64 Isaiah 11,12,13.

This is the cause why I humbly provoke the Nation to humiliation before God upon view of his mercies immerited, we have not been worthy of the least of those Myriaded ones that we have enjoyed, nor improved them to such a degree of Melioration and gratitude as we might and ought, *For if those mighty wonders that had been amongst us, had been done in any* other Nation or City, they would have repented long ago in Sackcloth and Ashes, whereas *We are still setled in our Lees, and return not to him that smites us, neither bring we forth fruits meet for repentance.* Mat. 11. 21. 23. Luke 10. 13. 48 Jer. 11. 7 Hos. 10. 4 Mat. 8.

Further (Sir) I do humbly pray and wish that *England* and *London* would consider the necessity of their humiliation

tion before God; for the Judgments past, present, & probably to come upon it and them that are Impœnitent in it, and unreformed by them.

And here methinks I hear the Nation crying to its Neighbours, & inhabitants as *Jerusalem* is personated to cry out, *Lam.* 12. *Is it nothing to you all yee that pass by behold and see, If there be be any sorrow like unto my sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger?* Is it nothing to you that after above 80 years peace I should have an Intestine War, an *Irish* Rebellion, a *Scotch* Insurrection, and an *English* Discord; By the Tragicknes of all which, in Battails fought, in Violencies committed, in Depræ dations made, I lost Hundreds of Thousands of Men, Millions of Wealth, Multitudes of Buildings of State, suffered Havock of Religion, Humanity, Timber, and what not that was valuable to keep or get? Is it nothing to you that I had wickednes setled in me by a Law, *and that the*

9. Isai. 16. *Rulers of the People caused me to erre;*
9. Jer. 13. *turning*
6. Amos 12.

turning judgment into Gall, and righteouſneſs into Wormwood, till at laſt the light of our eyes, the Annointed of the Lord fell in their ſnare, and the blood of that Holy and Juſt one *Charles* the Firſt, my once Lord and Maſter was ſlain in me? Is it nothing to you, that I was made another *Abſyrtus*, and my ſeameleſs coat was torn in pieces, and divided between thoſe that then were chief; That I was in a good progreſs to Anarchy, and to an impoſſibility ever to have been recollected and reduced into my orderly and conſiſtent way of regularity and harmony *wherein our Governours might be as at the firſt, and our Judges as at the firſt*, no Neighbouring eye pitying me in this day of contempt, or ſaying unto me Live, had not God made this time of my pollution, the time of his Love? Is it nothing to you, that God has given me a Horn of ſalvation in this houſe of his Servant *David*, and we that under his ſhadow and protection ſit under our own Vine, and under our own Fig-tree, and enjoy our good things with Peace, yet do repine

1. Iſa. 26.

132. Pſ. 2.

repine at the Anchor that holds us all together from wreck, and think necessary aids granted to him, burthens, and his Proclamations and Manifests against Prophaneness and contempt of God (disobeyed by many of those who will *Ram* and *Damn* themselves to be his best friends, & all Phanatiques, who refrain from the same excess not to be heeded with them) Is it nothing to you that God has brought a War upon me from my Neighbours in Situation, and Religion, and made the two Earthen Vessels placed in the Sea, and insuperable while inseperable, dash each against other, and they that in their Union are a terrour to all their opposites, become in Hostility the advantage of those that abet their feuds, looking for that day (which I hope they shall never see) wherein they promise themselves the spoil of them? Is it nothing to you that the God of Heaven hath brought upon many great Cities and

Certo constat Regem Hispaniarum & totam Angliam cum Belgio donare possit totius Europæ magnæq; partis mundi Novi Monarchiam cito Evasurum; Omnino id agat ut Anglorum vires infringat, ad quod efficiendum Naves Hollandiæ & Frisiæ sufficerent & nimirum Classi Angliæ opponerentur. Campanella c. 25. *de Monarchia* Hispanica.

popul-

Towns in me and into my *London*, in *Anno* 1665. the grievous Plague and Pestilence wherein above a hundred thousand dyed. Many of its Inhabitants were scattered into several corners of the Nation, and impoverished by high expences, loss of Trade and Debts, and by other unavoidable accidents. And when they were but a little returned, and were in their way of settlement and recovery, Is it nothing to you that God hath by this Dreadful fire of *Londons* havock given the Enemy of the setled Religion of *England* occasion to account *England* and *London* forsaken of God; And * now to be as vituperious of me and mine as their Predecessors in Profession were in their Petition to King *James*, in which they have amongst many other passages, this; (*Assuring your Grace that howsoever some Protestants or Puritans incited by morral honesty of life, or innated instinct of Nature, or for fear of some temporal punishment, pretend obedience unto their Highness Laws, yet certainly the only Catholiques for Conscience-sake observe them.*

* 71 Pl. 11. *Apology and Appeal to the Royalists now published.*

Cab. 1. 2 p. 17. p. 84.

I ls

Is this? Is this nothing to you that thus the adversary reproaches me upon the misery of *London*? Beloved *London*, *Virtutum omnium domicilium*, as the (a) Historian styled *Rome*, now the object of our Tears, who wast heretofore the pleasures of our eyes, whose being and bravery God has given up into the rage of fire as the punishment of God upon the Nations and its own sins; Though thou art persecuted yet art thou not forsaken, Why may not the words of the Prophet *Isaiah* be applyed to thee, *Behold thy Salvation cometh, And they shall call thee the Holy people, the Redeemed of the Lord; and thou shalt be called sought out, A City not forsaken.*

(a) *Ammianus Marcellinus.* l. 14.

2 Cor. 4. v. 9.

(b) Is. 11. 12.

Tell me, O tell me, ye that are most proud upon your prosperity, ye that *despise the day of small things, and think ye are delivered to do all the abominations that the worst of men do*, who follow the lusts of their own eyes, and the thoughts of their own hearts, and make God unconcerned in their behavious, *As if every one that doth evil were good in the sight of the Lord,*

Lord, and he delighteth in him, or where is the God of judgment, 2 *Mal.* ult. ye who discharge the providence of God from all Regency over the world and the men, and things of it subjecting all things to chance, as if the Lord who made it, wholly cast off the care and controul of it, *and will not do good, neither will he do evil in it* 31 Zep. 12. Tell me O ye mistaken ones, who smile in your sleeves, and exalt your selves against those that the Lord has humbled, may not the Prophet *Obeds* words be applyed to you. *But are these not with you, even with you sins against the Lord your God*; For which sins God may meet with you also? Let these things O people of *England* be weighed, and let it not seem light to you that God has made such a breach in the wall of the strength of *England*, and caused the Metropolis of it to be a Step-Mother to her Children.

Vere affirmare possumus mundum novum quodammodo per diluvium mundum.

2 Chron. 37. C. V. 10.

Vetrem nam mentibus nost. is avaritium insevit & mutuum amorem inter homines extinxit. Campanella c. 16. Monarch Hilpan.

This O *London* Inhabitants now dispersed, take religiously to heart, and

let God have the glory of your voluntary and penitent taking to your selves *shame and confusion of Face*; *For behold the Lord hath made the Earth of*
24 Isa. 1. London *waste*, *he hath made it empty and turned it upside down, and scattered abroad the Inhabitants thereof*, God hath given it (for but a while I hope) the portion of *Egypt* to be de-
29 Ezech 9. solate and waste, though the River (was and is and will be I trust Hers,) which brought all Trade to her, and carryed all Trade from her, not only into *England*, but into all other parts of the habitable world. Because of which testimony of Gods indignation against us, for our untowardness to him, and our neglect of him when his judgments on us ought to make us learn righteousness. What cause (*Dear Sir*) has *England* and *London* to cry mightily to God for a profitable issue of this his judgment upon us, and how ought we all to abhor our selves for provoking his goodness, and patience, solong and so far?

Let (Sir) evil Instruments have their due Guerdon if they be found, and

found

found guilty, Let no eye ſpare, nor any heart compaſſionate the miſery of any Villany that ſhall be Confederate againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed in the ruine of *London*, (which was more happy in ſome reſpects when on fire, than * *Rome* when on fire was) But yet the great Delinquent that provoked God to give up *London* ſuch a main Pillar and Maſter-branch in *Englands* Grandeur, into the power of raging fire was *Englands* and *Londons* ſins, for which ſhe and it hath received ſuch things at the Lords hand. This is a lamentation, and it ought to be a lamentation; For of all the Clouds over *England*, none more portentuous than this.

* *Nec quiſquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis retinguere prohibentium, & quia alii palam faces jactitabant atque eſſe ſibi auctorem vociferabantur ſive ut raptus licentius exercerent, ſeu juſſu.* Tacitus Annal. l. 15. p. 791. Edit. Dorleans.

Which (Sir) in mine opinion, (but I am a modeſt ſubſcriber to your and other Wiſe-mens better judgments) addreſſes to the Nation this Counſel to promote union and general complyance amongſt true Engliſhmen, to ſerve their Prince reſolutely, ſupply his neceſſities

ceſſities roundly, diſcourage his Enemies manfully, and in all things prove themſelves a terrour to the common Enemy, whoſe pride it is to ſee us peeviſh, and whoſe project it is to keep us jealous and inconfident each of other, and thence impotent againſt them, ſo *Campanella* has told the world. For having adviſed to *open Popiſh Schools in* Flanders (*which Country hath much commerce with* England *and is neer to it, he concludes that Natural Sciences profeſſed there, and drawing over many great Wits thither, will ſo engage them to cavil and buſie their brains in diſputes, That the errours of the* Calviniſts *will be made manifeſt.* And he proceeds, c. 27. *To conclude that God himſelf has ſhewed them the way by which the Heretiques may be overcome; namely, their rendring into Sects and Parties, which* he aſſures by the endeavours that he preſcribes may be ſuch, *That there hardly be found a family in that Land* (mean-

Ad Religionem Anglicanam quod ſpectat obtinet quidem Calvinizans *at tamen moderata, nec tam prava ut* Genevenſium *eſt quæ tamen facile reſtingui non poteſt, niſi aperiuntur Scholæ in* Flandria, *quæ gens cum* Anglis *multum commercii habet, inter vehitque illarum ſpargentur ſemina Sciſmatum in Scientiis Naturalibus, &c.* c. 25. de Monarch. Hiſpan.

(meaning Engl.) *in which divers Heresies shall not be favoured, nor is there wanting to our wishes anything but the knowing & improving of so desirable an opportunity. For every Kingdom divided against it self shall be desolated, and firm union has ever a undissolvable knot*; Thus *Campanella*.

Deus tamen ipse postmodum obstad t viam quâ illi vinci potuerunt cum ipsi

(Protestantes) *per scissi in diversas partes decesserunt, Crassi scissuri Lutheri, subsilio Calvini, dissoluti Zuinglii & Memnonis, adeo ut vix ulla domus ibi terrarum inveniatur in qua non diversa Haereses foveantur, nec ulla desit nobis quam scientia apprehendit & usurpandi tam exoptatam occasionem, omne enim regnum in se divisum desolabitur & unio firma difficilem semper habet nodum. c. 27.*

For as in the body natural the amputation and dock of one member forces the bloud and spirits that therein reside when fixed, to recur to the heart, and there to succour it in the absence of that part, to the more plenary vigour of the remaining parts, so in the body politique, in this sense *Intentio supplere debet defectum*, What *England* has at present lost in *Londons* Counsel, Riches, Readiness, it must supply by the hale and uninjured other parts, till *Londons* dispersions can be recollected, and the impoverishings

of it be regain'd. The numbers of *Lond.* (blessed be God) are not by the fire much destroyed, nor their spirits Crest-fallen, nor are they languid and despairing in their endeavours to get up again, if God give his blessing to them, and if they be left (so far as may suit with His Majesties pleasure and the Laws direction for publique advantage) to the building of it upon its old Foundation, and according to the just proportion of every mans allowed claim and right; This, in such measure as the wisdom and justice of Government shall indulge, may make us hopeful, and I hope confident to see a *London* again, and therefore O *England*, O *London*, renounce thy Factions and Parties which are great Remora's to thy prosperity, and let us who are Christian Englishmen keep *the unity of the spirit in the bond of Peace, and the God of peace will be with us, and make the work of it peace and assurance for ever, rendring this fruit of Righteousness a tree of life.* Nothing tends to redintegration, to improvement like union, for by that are unnatural Breaches made

2 Cor. 13. c. v 11.
4 Eph. 3.
32 Isa. 17.
11 Prov. 30.

made up, and firmneſs the only auxiliary to oppoſition of Enemies is advanced and carryed on to its amiable iſſue; while Brethren live together and are full fed at their Fathers Table they often will be found jarring each with other, and contending with animoſity for ſtraws and bubbles, but when their provident Fathers diſpoſes them into ſeveral quarters, and they ſee and hear from one another but ſeldom, then their childiſh vatiances fall off and they unite into an indiſſolvability of affection, ſo that they will covet to hear from and ſee each other, omitting no expreſſion of obligement that they can make to one another; Sembably in National differences it proves true, that the common affection of Countrymen ſoders them into a common reſolve of kindneſs each to other, when they ſee they have bought their humours at too dear a rate to boaſt of their purchaſe, or to continue in it any longer. And this, they that are moſt ſtupid and ſetled upon their Lees, may eaſily diſcover; And if God that *divided* Simeon *and* Levi *in* Jacob, *and ſcattered them*

Ge. them in Israel, *because cruelty was in their dwellings*, shall unite *Ephraim* to *Manasseth*, and *Manasseth* to *Ephraim*, *Judah* will have no cause to complain both of them against each other have
9 Isa. 20. been against her. Nothing is a Curse of subversion to a Nation but Faction, Dissention, Jealousie, which the aforesaid *Campanella* calls (the most approved and successful way to humble the Heretiques of *England* and distract them that can be, for while they are afraid of one another, and keep at distance, they all lie open to become the prey of their Adversary.) Nor can this Nation be solidly thankful to God for his Mercies on the right hand and his Correction on the left, nor are they or any of them rightly understood or applyed by us, till with one heart and one mind we turn to God by Prayer and Supplication, till we seek him with undivided hearts, and beseech him *junctis viribus*, with intireness and un-

Egregia vero via ad humiliandos Haereticos eosque distrahendos etiam haec est, nimirum aperire Scholas Philosophicas & Mathematicas *in* Germania *ut ejusmodi speculati omnibus immergatur potius quam Haereticis studio vacet. Et Paulo post una quidem via est si animus omnis et voluntas interse coeundi et conspirandi illis auferatur suspiciones et simultatis inter illos alendo*, &c. c. 23.

unbroken devotion, till we all become a *Fulminatis Legio*, a band of seekers and servers of him orderly, as those *that are gathered together, and the Kingdoms to serve the Lord*, Psalm 102. v. 22.

O union! how wilt thou befriend *Engl.* if thou now become the blessing of City and Country, of Church and State, High and Low, old and young; let this spirit hold riffe in *Engl.* and let us learn obedience to God by the things that we have suffered, for being too much without it, and our prosperity will be like a River, and our Renown and dread like a mighty stream, our enemies will be before us as the Chaff before the wind, *One of us will chase a* 1000, *five of us will chase a* 100, *and a* 100 *of us will put* 10000 *to flight*, For till union be Gods gift upon Nationall endeavours and prayers, its best blessing is like to prove but a ballance to enemies, not a Victory over them, God may, and 'tis but a may, make their bow abide sure to wound their enemies in the hinder-parts, yet shall they still be but partial Victors, while

23 Josh. 10. 26 Lev. 8.

their

their enemies industry and unitedness wasts that by length which it cannot scatter or beat down by strength.

And if any man (Sir) think this a paradox and mis-judgeth it an error in History, let him rectifie his mistake by the Oracle of truth Christ Jesus, *A Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand*, and let him thereupon consider whether the plenary success of Nations in their enterprises both offensive and defensive, depend not, under God Almighty, upon union, which if the late judgment of Pestilence and Fire, with the present war will not invite us to, and confirm us in, what will do I know not, unless whom the Lord intends to destroy, *He hardneth against his fear, and against knowing the day of their saving Visitation*, which I hope and pray *Engl.* may be delivered from, and do promise my self Englishmen will ever make good that humour which I think is natural to them, to lay aside all private grudges, and bid their Valours to a reconciled entertainment in furious charge upon their Countries enemies, and thereby discharge their

Read Sir Walter Rawleigh's Book 1 part p. 262. l. 10.

Coun-

Countries vexation; *For if pro aris, pro focis & Patre Patriæ if in these cases* (to use K. James of blessed Memory his words) *no man ought to think his life happyer and more gloriously bestowed than in defence of any of the three*; how great an obligation is there on us to be true to our Nation when all are in danger, and how ought we all to be united to defend them all, who are so happy by them all? p. 233. of his works in folio.

Thus (Sir) having observed to your Judicious eye and to the Nation's, the mercies of God to *Engl.* in general, and to *London* a considerable part of it, I think it proportionable to mine honest intendment, to become in that measure that God enableth me, the Cities Orator & Advocate to the Nation, to whose aid, splendour, convenience, Grandeur, She when she stood upon her ancient bottom was so great a Contributor, Do not, O do not glory in her ruines, trample not upon her dislustre, reproach not her widowhood, insult not over her humbling; Do not, O do not vomit out Invectives against her whom God hath given as it were the Cup of abasement and astonishment to drink; do not lay load upon those Shoulders that God has in a sort, *Issachar'd*, to crowch between two Burthens of Poverty and dispersion, lay not that upon them which they

23 Ezech 32. 1a Zach. 2. 49 Gen. 19

are

36 Isa. 27. are not able to bear, because God layes upon no man more then he gives strength to undergo; Be not lifted up in this day of 1 Cor. 10. c. v. 13. *Londons* dejection, lest the Lord see it and be displeased, and he hurl you Lucifers out of the Heaven of your sinful felicity, and make you Noctifers and Mortifers of misery and contempt; Remember God was sore displeased with the Heathen that were at ease, *Because I was* (saith he) *but a little displeased, and they helped forward the affliction,* 1 Zach. 15. For I hope God is returning to it in Mercy, *and his Houses shall be built, and a Line shall be stretched forth upon it,* v. 16.

I the rather (Noble Sir) mention this, because the rancour of ill Nature, lewd rage, and un-English truculency discovers it self in the words and actions of some to such degrees, that they count *London* as *Nero's* House was termed, *Spoliarium Urbis & Orbis*, Censuring it thus punished for her bloud and Rebellion, for her Sectarism and Puritannicalness, making the loss and just complaints of her Inhabitants, the matter of their secret repast, if not open exultation. To this the answer of our Lord to his furious Disciples, who would have had Fire called for from heaven upon their enemies, is apposite *You know not of what spirit ye are*, therefore

fore to such I shall make no reply that will incense them or engage me. Only (Sir) I hope I may with modesty and truth say, that whatever *Londons* guilt before God hath been, and its receiving from the Lords hand by this fire is, God is just, and it hath reaped but the fruits of its own sinful doings, as to God *Londons* destruction is of it self, but as to the Nation, it hath not I perswade my self had more than a proportion of sin with it; Her Magistracy, Her Ministery, Her Sabbaths, Her Congregations, Her Citizens, Her altogether has been as orderly & pious as the proportions of them in other places privileged from her Calamity were, and when ever the temper of her Inhabitants was most distemper'd, they were then no more Criminal than the rest of the Nation; whose Emissaries and Suffragans either called up those disorders in her, or confirmed, *ex post facto*, what was vildely done by them. And if *London* (be it as bad as it will be, must in policy be made as good as it can, and be born with till its humors be sweetned, and its eventriqueness be reduced, for the Metropolis of *Engl.* I hope God has ratifyed in Heaven it shall ever be and abide;) then to no purpose is this waste of rage, while *Lond.* being the common Hostelry

ry of the Nation, receives into it men of all additions and tempers, nor can it be responsible before God or man for that, which a more governable place (then the continued building which in this account is reckoned *Lond.* but really is not) would be, *Londons* numbers made *London* orderly, or the contrary, as the predominant vertue or vice of them led her, nor avails it much what a few wise and loyal men say or do, if many more than they will appeal from them to the power they have gotten over them, and the mastery they are resolved to keep upon them. And though the least instance of *Lond.* misdemeanor be that which I wish from my soul she could not be charged with, yet if those that are most censorious of her, and most profess service to the K. and the Country would consider it aright, they may I presume find cause to joyn with Renowned K. *James*, who in his acknowledgment of Her great forwardness in that honorable action of proclaiming him King, says, *Wherein you have given a singular proof of your ancient Fidelity, a Reputation Hereditary to that our City of* London *being the Chamber of our Imperial Crown, and ever free from all shades of tumultuous and undutyful courses*, so that King. . . . And

Ann. 1602. *Cabala.* p. 81.

And so much by way of Attonement for *London*, the challenge to which needs no other or better reply than that of the Archangel, contesting with his Antagonist about the body of *Moses*, whom he answered not with raylingaccusations, but said, *The Lord rebuke Thee*; even so, O Lord, rebuke the evil spirit of these *Sanballats*, and raise up the spirit of the *Nehemiahs* and such other Heroicks of Kindness and Ability, to consider *London*; If not the place of their birth, breeding, supply, or the soyle in which their Ancestors layd the foundations of their Honour and Fortune, yet that wherein their younger Brothers, Sisters, or Cozen-Germans were disposed of, and lived happily in. And, O that such of the Nobility and Gentry, whose Greatness owes its Freedom and Fullness to their City Ancestors who throve so well in it, as to leave them that whereby they and their thrifty Posterities may enjoy the plenty they

St. Jude 9.

At Pompeii theatrum igne fortuito haustum, Cæsar restituendum policitus est, eo quod nemo è Familia relaturando sufficeret. Tacitus Annal. lib. 3. p. 417. Edit Dorleans.

neither laboured nor ſpun for. O that, I ſay, theſe would think the ruines of *London*, under which the Monuments of their worthy Fathers or Grandſeirs, and the aſhes of them lye, worthy their reſcue and revival, by re-edifying thoſe Piles of Devotion in which they were erected and buryed; That what is written but upon the Porch of one Church now in the Borders of *London*, may be the Motto of every ſuch reſtored Church and Chappel, *Heus viator anne bonis operibus effœtum eſt hoc ſæculum.* And O that the aid of their great Eſtates would come in to help the publique Places of *Londons* Government, *Guild-hall* and the Halls of the Worthy and Charitable Societies of the ſame, a Work becoming the beſt and braveſt Minds, and only expectable from ſuch, who thereby would more contribute to their own earthly perennity, than by the doubtful continuance of Sons and Daughters. God knows my

St. Gyles's in the Fields.

A ſenatu petivit Lepidus ut Baſilicam Sancti Pauli Æmilian. monumenta propria pecunia firmaret, ornaretq.; erat enim tunc in more publica munificentia. Idem eodem loco.

my heart, I hate the vapour of words divorced from real and ſolid Intentions, but this, if you (Sir) and other Worthy men will give me leave to write, and belief in writing, I had rather live in ſuch publique Munificencies, than in Sons or Daughters. And had I an Eſtate as *Auguſtus* had, whom *Tacitus* reports to have beſtowed by Legacy in his Will, incredible ſums of Money to the Citizens and Souldiers thereby entitled to his Gift; I ſhould rather chuſe, after moderate Proviſion for my Children, to make the Ruines of *London*. (In which Beloved *Syon Colledge* ſhould have no ſmall ſhare) Mine Executor then to reſtore, or continue my own Family by it. And, I truſt, God who I believe has accepted, as well pleaſing in his ſight, the Piety, Faithfullneſs, and Diligence of the Corporations in *London*, will give a Command to thoſe Lazaritique ſpirits, who have been of late engraved in cold re-

Legata non ultra Civilem modum nisi quod populo et Plebi CCCCXXXV. *Praetorianis cohortium militibus singula nummum millia, legionariis autem cohortibus Civium Romanorum trecenos nummos virilim dedit.* Annal. lib. 1. p. 33. Edit Dodeans.

ſolves to hoard what would be better thus imployed, to come forth and become charitably viſible; And if God be with *London* to this purpoſe, He that at firſt brought Order out of Confuſion, can from this preſent Heap of Rubbiſh, raiſe up a New and no leſs Renowned *London*. And thereby provide a-new for the Reverend, Learned, and Painful Clergy, many of which Conſtant Preachers, Polite Writers, Diſcreet and Holy Livers, are now expoſed with their Wives, Children and Families to hardſhip, un-houſed, diſ-pariſhed, Fortuneleſs; Some whereof have loſt all, or part of their Libraries, Common Places, and Sermon Notes, the fruits of their Studies, and the ſupplies of their Cures, and other advantageous Emergencies; and what is yet as lamentable as any other unwelcome Accident, have loſt the convenience of *Syon Colledge*, whoſe well furniſhed Library (though little added to theſe late years) in a good part ſaved, yet by the ruines of its Caſe, and the uſeleſsneſs of it in any place, but that which was peculiar

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to it, adds to their unhappineſs; to recover which priſtine convenience, there was a Motion made to the Preſident and ſuch of the Governours as could be got together about three weeks after the Fire, by a Gentleman who would have been the Colledge Orator, had they given him, and ſome other Gentlemen joyned with him, Credentials to addreſs in their name, and to ſo worthy a purpoſe, The then living, though now dead,* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, whom the Motioner, to my knowledg, told ſuch of the Governours as there were preſent, the moſt likely of any one liveing to accept the Intreaty and Motion, to become the Patron and Refounder of the Colledge. God having concentred in his Lordſhip thoſe arguments of Motive for him to do this, which he has not now, in many no leſs willing, as that his Lordſhip was a Native of *London*, the Son of a wealthy Citizen in the ſame; That he was a Church-man in the City many years; That he had been a Governour of *Syon Colledge*; That he had

* Dr. *Warner.*

had long publiſhed himſelf an intender of Publique charity by way of a Colledge to be built, or ſome Hoſpital, or both; if this, added to his Fatherly ability in point of Eſtate, and his non-avocation by Proviſion for Children, which many mens Intentions this way are peſtered with, and rendred ineffectual by; Theſe, I ſay, all amaſſed together, did portray him probable enough to expect ſuch an addreſs, and to be by God prepared, not to brow-beat it; eſpecially when the Eminency of this Charity had furtherance by the cheapneſs of it, the reſtoration of which Edifice to its ſplendor, would not, with the Materials (when the Motion was made) already there, have amounted to above 3000l. which was far leſs than either our firſt Founder, Reverend Dr. *White*, or our ſecond Founder worthy Mr. *Simpſon*, though but a playne Rector of a Church in *London*, and having a charge of Children, beſtowed upon their reſpective parts of Foundation therein. But this Motion (which no man can deny to have been

St. Olaves Hart-ſtreet.

been then not impoſſible to have gain'd accompliſhment to thoſe honeſt ends) ceaſed under the concluſion, *He was anangry old Man, and would not reliſh ſuch an Application*, and ſo it dyed, and two moneths after his Lordſhip too: but I wiſh it be not the hopefulleſt opportunity that the Colledge will ever have. And I pray God that future diligence may ſupply what herein may be feared wanting, and that the Library may be fitted to uſe. Since as the Lord *Coventry* once ſaid, The Colledge had never been or continued, if it had not been for the Library and Almſ-houſes. *Nota bene.*

This I thought here good to publiſh, it being my nature and cuſtome to promote all pious and learned Intereſts by any opportunities I have, or can ſeaſonably take, and to Gratulate the Kindneſs, Convenience, and Favour I have had from any perſon or thing, with frequency of acknowledgment, and wherein I can with fluency of requital. Yea, ſo great a confidence had I of the feaſibility of this Motion, had it been currantly fol-

lowed, that, I dare say, and I would have none displeased with me, but if they be, I will be pleased with my self for believing it, That if the meanest Society in *London* had conceived such hopes of any man so related to them, and so enabled for them, as the prementioned Prelate was to the Corporation of *London* Ministers at *Syon Colledge*, they would have not been so Modest as to have made to themselves a difficulty to approach him, and a denyal from him, before they had attempted the one, and received the other; But would have made as much of it, as their diligence, furthered by Gods blessing, would have prospered their application to.

And I the rather (Sir) move the Nobles and Gentry to this, because God, in the words of *Mordecay* to *Esther*, perhaps has brought them to, and preserved them in, riches and plenty for such a time as this, *Esther* 4. 14. And how can they do more to denominate them Noble and Great minded, then this of building some-

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what of publique Use and State. Thus God when he declares his Mercy and Greatness to his, is said to Build the Cities of *Judah*, *Psal.* 69.35. And when the Lord builds up *Zyon*, he is said to Appear in his Glory, *Psal.* 102.16. Thus God saies to his Peoples comfort, *The Heathen that are left round about you shall know, that I the Lord build the ruined places, and plant that that was desolate*, *Ezech.* 36.36. And when *God threatned the deriders of his destroyed people, whom he calls sinners of his people that shall die by the sword, which say the evil shall not overtake nor prevent us*, *Amos* 9.10. In the 11th v. he adds, *In that day* (to wit of their ruine) *will I raise up the Tabernacle of* David *that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruines, and I will build it as in the dayes of old.*

And as God himself shews his Greatness by this, so does he stir up great Mindes thus to do. Thus he stirred up *Solomon* to build a House to him, 1 *Chron.* 28. 10. Thus God moved *Cyrus* to build the Temple, *Ezra* 5 13. See Sir *W. Rawleigh* 1 Book. 1. part c. 10. § 4.

Thus

Thus *Cain*, *Nimrod*, *Ashur*, and all men else of Might, are excited to build Cities and Houses, and to call them after their own Names, which was not onely the Fashion of elder times, and Eastern Countries, but has ever been the Custome of *England*: Most Halls and Lordship Houses takeing Denomination from the Primitive or most remarkable Owner of them; Which perpetuation of any mans Name and Memory, is more probable and certainly continuous, than that of a Child, who may die, or leave no Heir, or but an Heir Female; or may by unthriftiness waste an Estate, and so extinguish the Ancestor; when as a publique Bounty fixed on the Basis of a notable Structure imployed to a general Use, can undergo no such change; for its Corporation never dies, and its Alienation is secured against. Which is verified in that Magnanimous and liberal hearted Benefactor to *London*, and that Glory of *Englands* Traders in his time, Sir *Thomas Gresham* Knight, and Mercer of *London*, the wealthy and service-

able

able Merchant of Queen *Elizabeth* of ever blessed Memory; who dying childless, is buryed in the alienation of *Asterly*, and other great parcels of his Lands, now out of the Name of *Gresham*; but yet he lives in the Colledge of his Foundation, and in the City House he lived in, which is by the Mercy of God preserved from Fire, and become the Chamber, The *Guild-hall*, The Common-hall, The *Exchange* of the remaining City; The Royal *Exchange* in *Cornhil* of his Foundation, *Anno* 1571. being wholly burnt down, and all the Stately and Kingly Effigies of it demolished, except his the Founders, which yet stands in its Arch undefaced: which president of Gods Custody of a charitable mans Statue in that place and posture which to his Memory it was first placed in, insinuates to me a very cogent Argument of invitation to some of the descendants from Citizens to set apart some share of their spare Estate, to restore waste places of Use and Notability, wherein they will more display the Piety, Gratitude,

tude, and bravery of their Natures, than by any Paradoe of Pompe, or any affectation of Grandeur which is Personal. It was a rare Testimony given of the Centurion, *That he loved the Jewish Nation, because he built the Jewes a Synagogue.* And 'twill be a sure Evidence of Love to the Ancestor that in *London* rose and enriched a Family in *London*, when the Descendants from it so enriched, shall do good in their good pleasure to *London*, and help to build up the ruines of its Churches, Chappels, Halls and Colledges, which the sooner they are done the more exemplary, the less chargeable they will be; and till they can be done, there are many real Objects of Charity, which the wayfs and strayes of their amplitude would releive, The impoverished Clergy, The deserted Children of Christs Hospital, The aged poor of the Almshouses of the Societies. These, together with thousands of altogether distressed and undone House-keepers, call for your charitie, and will be worthy Objects of your Almonage.

Remember this that God may remember you.

Look

Look upon these, O ye Great and Rich men, whose Barns are full, whose Purses are weighty, whose Bellies are pampered, whose Credits are questionless, whose Houses are well stored, whose Children are well matched, whose Rents come in sleeping and waking, Cast away some of your Bread upon these Waters, sprinkle some Crumbs of Comfort before these helpless Infants; divide some portion to seven or eight, to what number your discretion directs you to, and your Piety shall bless you in so doing; For you know not what *Evil shall come upon the Earth, Eccles.* 11.2. Remember (O man) God the distinguisher of thee and him, was the Creator as well of thy Brother in want, as of thee in plenty; (the Rich and the Poor meet together in their Commencement, both dust, God is the Maker of you both, *Prov.* 22 2.) and if thy heart be hard to him, and thou turnest thine eye from his misery, and succourest not his poverty with thy plenty; as *The Love of God dwells not in thee*, so the blessing of God will not

Deut. 15. 7, 8, 9. not rest upon thee. *If there be a poor man among you, one of thy Brethren, within any of thy Gates in thy Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee; Thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor Brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year the year of release is at hand, and thine eye be evil against thy poor Brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee: Thou shalt surely give him, and thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; Because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy Works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.* This is Gods Enaction in Force in the Moral Charity of it to the Worlds end.

Which, in the Bowels of Christ, I think (Sir) is pressable upon rich exempted persons now, according to such proportions as the publique Affairs and other Exigents, I know more than

then ordinarily expenſive, will permit. Yet ſtill revolving in their mindes that of St *Paul, He that ſowes ſparingly, ſhall reap ſparingly*; A Suit of Clothes, an Exuberant Servant, a Diſh of Meat, an affected Folly, is better ſpared, than a Charity to one of theſe: To whom a cup of cold water given, ſhall be from God above rewarded. But I forbear, what mine Oratory is incogent in, which for the Poor, God can ſupply, who has the hearts of the Rich in his hand, and can ſoften them into ſuch diſtributions, as they by the poor, devote to him.

There is alſo (Sir) another Act of Charity, or rather Juſtice, that I humbly commend to the great men of the Nation, to expreſs to the ruined Citizens, To wit, ſuddain and full payment of their juſt Debts. For they, poor Souls, being outed of their Habitations, and looſers in the Fines, as well as Proprieties of them, are not only expoſed to lay down new Fines, and thoſe, God knowes, unreaſonable ones, to get them an abiding place, but are (by the ſuſpicion that their Credi-

Creditors have of their loſs and inability) rendred unable to buy up Credit, upon which double exhauſtion of them by the act of God, and the inevitable inference thereupon; if thoſe that are able be not willing, and ſuddain in paying them, they will unavoidably be ruined, which, I hope, their great Debtors, whom they muſt (for loſſes make men leſs confident, except they be ſuch as are totall and irreparable) addreſs with leſs courage, and are leſs able to compel, if refractory, than heretofore, will count it beneath them to put them to; For a Great man is not more diſtinguiſhable by any thing that is a display of Notability, than by a Mind Juſt and Generous, as well abhorring to do as to receive wrong; To whom Unjuſt and Mean advantages taken againſt their Inferiours, is ſo execrable, that they count it no leſs than a ſtaine to their Honour, and an abatement to their Heroiſme. King *Seſoſtris* is reckoned one of the moſt Virtuous and Noble of the *Egyptian* Kings; yet he forgot himſelf much, when he

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caused four captive Kings to draw his Coach; nor had he the true view of worldly Instability, nor the great sentiments of Regality, when he prided his inconstant Fortune, in the desport of their Vassalage. A braver humour prevailed in the Christian and Masculine Soul of *Charles* the Fifth (many of whose previous actions, to the resignation of an Empire, and the contentation with a private life, were proportionate to the utmost expectable from an Immortal Mortal.) This Great man, having by his Forces at the siege of *Pavia*, taken *Francis* the First of *France*, a great and warlike King, *Shewed only such sense of it as became a wise Prince, and one that was not himself exempted from a Quartan; for if he considered* Francis *in the custody of his Guards, he looked upon himself as in the custody of his Physician, saying moreover, It was not for Christians to rejoyce in their Victories each against other, but only against Infidels:* So treating him as if he had been no Prisoner, but a free Prince: This, this to do is as Greatness ought,

L. Herbert Hist. H. 8. P. 167.

L which

which cannot but understand that the chances and changes of life are in Gods hand, and that they are misunderstood by men, when their eye is evil, because Gods is good: whose Moral, as well as Religious Rule, is not to lay snares, nor to make men miserable by their power, *Because he is an avenger of such things; But if our Enemy be hungry, give him bread; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink, for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and the Lord shall reward thee.* So King *Solomon*, *Prov.* 25. 2. Confirmed by a greater then he, Christ Jesus, *Matt.* 5. *Luke* 6.27. And if those men owe nothing to, but in point of Charity, be thus to be treated, then surely much more ought to be expressed to them, who to this Obligation of Charity and Freewill, have in them a right of Justice to crave Kindness from their Debtors, even that Kindeness of seasonably paying them, what they seasonably for their own supplies took up of them

This (Sir) I conceive very requisite to be intreated in the behalf of the

the now distracted Citizens, because I have heard it said to be one of the great miseries of Trade, to have a rich Shop-book, and a lank Credit, by reason of the detinue of Debts due to them, by which they should keep touch with their Creditors, with whom they are forced not to correspond as they ought, because they are not enabled by the solvency of their Debtors. And the noise of the world is, that many men of great Estates, are most bare of money, and most backward in payments; the sluce of which Evacuation, or the nick of which retardment, must be either the secret displeasure of God against their abused greatness, from which God has less tribute then is his due and expectation; or from the vage expence of their Persons; or from Frauds committed upon them, by non-inspecting their own Estates, but trusting others wholly with the managery of them; which of these is the cause, I am not wise enough to state, but that it is so, that many of those that have most reason, in prudence and possibility, to

be before hand, and to lend, rather then borrow, and pay when they buy, rather then run into the Book, are the Debtors that are leaſt, and lateſt ready to pay. That being too often true which the Judicious, and moſt Learned Knight long ſince wrote, *Moſt of thoſe who preſent Death upon the points of their Swords to all that give the lye to them, uſe nothing ſo much in their converſation and courſe of life, as to ſpeak and ſwear falſly:* which is not only a palpable Scar to their Reputations, (their Credits being often refuſed) but a diminution to their Eſtates, they paying upon ſuch preſumptions of hazzard, and uncertainty of payment, 20 or 30 l. *per Cent.* more then the ready money Market value, and yet are the Dealers with them beggars by it, becauſe Trade being like a Scale, in motion up and down, the circumaction of it by paying and receiving, upon buying and ſelling, is the life of it, which upon ſuch incorreſpondence, if not inſolvency, muſt acquieſſe, and not flow and ebb; whereupon it has ever been the Maxime of great and ſolid

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* 5. Book part 1. P. 467.

Traders,

Traders, To Purchase Lands of great Men, but to trade and deal with common Persons, whom they can reach by the Laws compulsion, if they cannot perswade by Credits value.

And truely (Noble Sir) if it seemed good to the Power and Policy of the Nation, I could (yet with humility and submission) wish that it might be examined whether those provident Statutes of 34 H. 8. 4. 13 Eliz. 7. 1 Jac. 15. 21 Jac. 19. against Bankrupts may not be extended somwhat further now, then when they were made, there seemed to be reason to apply them: The Preamble of 1 Jac. 15. has these words: *For that Fraud and Deceit as new diseases, daily increase amongst such as live by buying and selling, to the hinderance of Traffique and mutual Commerce, and to the general hurt of the Realm, by such as wilfully and willingly become Bankrupts.* For since, now it appears, not only Traders, but divers others, do contract Debts, buy Lands, settle them on their children, or in trust, and take Prisons for their Sanctuaries, defying their Creditors, which

is Fraud and Deceit to all the execrable issues preambled in the Statute, why these though not Traders yet under the same guilt, should not be lyable to the same severities, and be brought within the compass of those Statutes, I am to seek of reason for it, as many are to seek of remedy against those Frauds for want of it. A better course it is which *Solomon* prescribes, *Prov.* 3.27. *With-hold not good from him to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thy hand to do it: say not unto thy neighbour go, and come again, and to morrow I will give it, when thou hast it by thee. Take heed of thus taking a pledg of thy brother for nought; and of stripping the naked of their cloathing, of giving not water to the weary to drink, and of with-holding thus bread from the hungry; least by reason of this, thy wickedness be great, and thine Iniquities infinite*: as holy *Job* his words are, *Ch.* 22. *vers.* 5, 6. *For such with-holding of more then is meet tendeth to poverty, Pro.* 11. 24. Yea, certainly to with-hold a just Debt, when there is ability in the Debtor to pay it, and the convenient time

time of its discharge is come; or to let it come, when it comes, with defalcations of Fees and allowances of poundage, is no less a great trouble to the Creditor receiving, than a deceit to the Debtor paying: To avoid which, it were much more peace to the Sellers conscience to sell at a reasonable price, and with moderate gain, upon money ready paid and no hazzard encountred with (ready money answering the opportunity of a speed to Market again, and of many light gains magnified by quick returns) and much more profit to the buyers estate, and diminution to his expence, then upon this latitude of Credit, given and taken, falls out to either.

Let then (Sir) the Man of Estate that is deep in the undone Tradesmans Book, and who heretofore, thought it but a thing of course to make him stay long, and dance many fruitless attendancies, and to inforce him to hedg in his first Debt, by addition of money lent, and acceptation of security for both: Now consider the Citizens impotency thus to do, and the mercilesse

nels of thus delaying him, and comply with this accident of ſtreſs which God has, without his poſſibilitie of preſcience or prevention, brought upon him and he will oblige him by a Mercy and Juſtice propitious to this his exigent, and declare himſelf truly *Great*; For Titles and Words are but Wind, but real actions of Virtue are the ſubſtantial determinations of Magnanimity; the life-draught of which was Heroically expreſſed in that Conteſt between the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, *Temps. Q. Eliz.* between whom there being quarrels upon rivalry of Favour, *Ceſar* and *Pompey*'s hauteſs being revived in them, the Lord *Mountjoy* daring to accept, as readily as the E. of *Eſſex* was ready to give him the Challenge, met the E. of *Eſſex* in the Field, the after Stage of their Combate; the Lord *Mountjoy* being the Defendant, told the Earl of *Eſſex*, That he fought him with ſome diſparity, becauſe that if he killed the Earl, his life was ſure to go for it; but if you my Lord of *Eſſex* kill me, your Intereſt is ſo great at the Court, and

the

in the Favour of her Majesty so much to you, that you will easily obtain her pardon; therefore, my Lord, before we fight, let me beg the favour of you, that you give it under your hand, that you challenged me, and do pardon me: The Earl of *Essex* said, That I will, but how shall we do to have a Pen and Inkhorn: My Lord *Mountjoy* replyed, I have one: Oh but quoth the Earl of *Essex*, would you have me quit my Sword in the Field, and my Guard upon which I stand: Yes, my Lord, (quoth my Lord *Mountjoy*) and you shall write it upon my back; I know your Lordship to be a Person of so great Gallantry, that there is no danger to me, that can dishonourably come from you: So the Earl of *Essex* wrote it upon his back, after which they generously fought, to shew their respective Valours.

This I introduce to shew that true Nobility and Generosity, abhors to take an advantage poorly and surprisingly against any man: Whereupon I am hopeful this disablement of the Citizens of *London* by Gods act, who

is

is Soveraign over all, to whose pleasure our Souls and Bodies, with all the present and future attendants on them are Vassals; I trust, I say and hope, it will produce a speedier and more effectual payment of their due Debts from those that owe them, then otherwise they would have got them in from them.

And Sir, I am further hopeful, that those Creditors to the City that are undammaged, or so only detracted from by this accident, that they are but shaven by it, not shorn, that is, abated in the excrements and parings of their Estates, not in the substance and totality of it; that these would be as patient and tender as they Christianly can to them that are clean undone; as many, God knows, are, whose savings from the destruction will not keep the life and soul of themselves and their charges together: They whom this accident hath made unable to live, and yet whom Providence rescues not from their misery by death: Those whose children they themselves are disabled to bring up,

and

and by the disablement of others (the calamity being so Epidemical) are not to be supplied with breeding from others: Those who turned out of their callings, and unstocked by the loss of that ruffle, are neither able to set up, or fitted to other imployments, if they could be found, proportionable to their age and ability: Those that are thus already Prisoners to want, pensive thoughts and terrours of despair, are to be commended with all sympathy to their Creditors Mercie and Kindness: That they would forbear reproaches to them, and arrests of them, or suits against them; for prisons get no debts, nor doth poverty pay any; nor can they hope to be forgiven of God their great debt, who forgive not their Brother, thus distressed, his small one to them: And remember what *Tilly*, I have heard, said to *Morgan*, when the one marched into *Stoade*, and the other marched out, *Hodie tu, Cras ego, I might have been in your case, the fortunes of Warr are dubious; you must now leave that place*

which

which you have kept as a man, and I now enter on that which I have bought with many a man, and with much misery; therefore, Sir, let us be friends in the conclusion, who have been enemies in the premisses: Let this, I say, be practised in the little debates of mine and thine referrable to Trading, thus clogg'd and impeded, and there may be hopes that *London* may revive, and its Citizens have wherewith to imploy their industrie in subserviencie to Gods blessing, and in time to make convenient restitution. And those Rents and Fortunes of Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and other Proprietors, which now are incontributive to the publique Charge, as well as unaydant to their own expences, and childrens provision for, will in time advance towards their wonted service; And the Magistracy of *London* be carried on by men of Fortune and fitness, whose Issues may, as heretofore, be provided richly for in all Counties of the Nation; and Charitie to the Poor and to Learning, may by them be propagated, whose Predecessors in

dwelling

dwelling and course of life, have, together with men Ecclesiastical, been more publique and generous that way, then all the Nation besides. Which I mention, not to raise the indignation of any, but to move compassion to the present cloud upon Citizens, and to alledge what may advance their present ease, in order to their future publique usefulness and benefaction. Thrifty Oaks, though fleeced of under boughs, yet if not headed, may thrive and grow stately timber Trees; but if once headed, prove after but Pollards, short and rough Timber, fit only for small and course uses. So is it with men under accidental Mischances; if they be fiercely proceeded against, and discredited, they are probable only to live in misery, and to die in poverty: but if they be favoured, till their industry fortunated by God has made head against its misfortune, and evicted its cloud, they prove rich and valuable, according to the belief, or the contrary whereof, my humble prayer for them stands or falls.

It

It were also (Noble Sir) worthy the consideration of the Nations wisdom and goodness, to provide some Law of defence against the rigours of Landlords, and the refractorines of Tenants, by which the Partie detrimented by this act of God, might escape the additional misery of a vexatious contest. Let (Sir) mercy be shewed to the Loofer, but not pretence of loss, pass for loss of disablements, where it has really devoured nothing but valuless Lumber: Neither let the condition of Books, Papers, Writings, and Records burnt or lost, be unprovided for by some Good and Grave Salvo, pleadable for the Loosers Indempnitie, least many long since discharged Debts be revived, and demanded afresh; and least men be by loss of Evidences evicted their Freeholds, or at least vexed with Suits concerning them; nothing being more sure, then that many men out of Town, and in distraction in Town, either forgot to secure many Books and Papers of weight and value; or else committed them to they knew not

not whom, and ſhall receive them from them they know not when; nay it may ſo fall out, that many Writings may by chance come into thoſe hands from whence they moved, and ceaſe to be ſecurities to thoſe to whom they are paſſed; and what miſchiefs may hereupon enſue (if ſome Law of limitation and bar be not interjected) is eaſie to preſage. It were (Sir) alſo moſt ſutable to the paternity of your Houſe, to provide ſomwhat about the Regiſters of Churches, which are now in ſuch diſperſion, if they ſurvive the Fire, that they would be commanded into ſome Office, there to be till the Pariſhes to which they belong be rebuilt: For ſince Certificate of Marriages, Legitimation of Children, proof of Ages, light in point of Pedegree, depend thereupon, the ſame will be the reaſon of their preſervation now, that was of their Inſtitution at firſt, and many poor Infants will be, when grown Men and Women, at a loſs irremediable, if ſome caution againſt, poſſible, and probable evils of ſuch nature, be not paſſed into a Law.

And

And Sir, to all these add not the least important act of your Piety and Prudence; the furtherance of a Law, for making the Second of *September* for ever, a Solemn Fast for the National sins that merited this Judgment of God upon its *London*: And the Sixth of *September* a day of Thanksgiving for ever, for Gods merciful stay of the Fire that it proceeded no further, to enter into the Suburbs, and to destroy therein, as it had done in *London*: That the Pallaces of our Soveraign and his Peers, and the Cathedral and City of *Westminster* went free, that they should be spared when *London* and St. *Pauls* felt the furie of mercilesse Flames, ought to be had in yearly and hourly remembrance. Nor can any better and more religious occasions of both duties be given us by God, than these prementioned exchanges of his Providence, the Staff of which as well comforts us, as the Rod of it afflicted us; for since he shewed himself to be *ex utroque Cæsar*, it befits us to shew our selves Christians to both his exhibitions of Power and Mercy.

These

These things (Sir) I have in haste prepared in present to you, that it may appear to the Nation, That there is one (amongst the many others that are well affected to *London*) that accounts it his duty to appear for her, not ashamed of her distuitre, and that now he can pay her no other duty, then that of his tears over her, and prayers for her, allowes her those, and over and above those, pleads her Cause with God and the Nation, not justifying her Innocency, or lessening her guilt, not excusing her Provocation, or drawing a vayle over her Deformities; No, God forbid I should thus become the Pharisee for her, who ought to put her Mouth in the Dust, and by her silence before her correcting God, testifie her consent to the Justice and adequateness of his Judgments upon her: On this account I will allude to *Job*'s words, *No mention shall be made by me of her Coral or Pearls*; all her righteousness my Pen shall publish but as menstruous Raggs, the price of the wisdom of humbling her self under this mighty hand of God, shall in my suffrage excel any Job 28.18

Rubies of insisting on Termes, God has done what he has done, and let all the Earth of *London* be silent before him: *The Lord hath done that to* London *which he hath devised, he hath fulfilled his word that he hath commanded; he hath thrown down, but yet hath pityed, Lam.* 2. 17. *London* is the Back that is smitten, but there is not a Corner in *England*, but hath contributed to the desert, and will first or last feel the rebound and consequence of this punishment to *London*. The sins of *Sodom*, the Violence, the Levity, the Prophaness, the Luxury, the Lukewarmness, that provokes God, is as much every where, as in *London*; there is a nauseousness of Angels Food, and a tendency to the Garlicks and Onyons of Prophaness every where, as well as in *London*: The Fields of *England* are every where ripe to the Harvest of Judgment, as well as the Sickle of it has been already thrust into *London*, the Glory of which God has cut down in his stupendious fury. Awake O North wind, blow O South wind upon the Garden of Holy Zeal, that the Spices of indignation for God

Cant. 4. 16

God may flow forth: Come forth of your Graves you old Hectors of Holyneſs, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other renowned and triumphant Saints of this Engliſh Church, Help O ye *Jewels* of Glory, and ye *Bradwardines* of courage and conſtancy, and ye *Fortherby's* and ye *Carletons* of conviction and valiancy for the Truth, worthy the Crowns ye enjoy, Come, O come ye in to the ayd of the Lord againſt the mighty hoaſts of Prophaneſs and Uncharitableneſs, of Carnal Politicks, and Atheiſtical Ruffians, that are confederate againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt: O remember the Prophetical deſcant of glorious King *James*, once our happy Monarch, who writing on the forth Angels Errand, by the Vial of Gods wrath, ſays thus: *Then the fourth Angel powred forth his Vial upon the Sun, and power was given him to afflict men with Fire. For even as the Sun was darkned in the fourth Trumpet, to wit, the ſpecial Teachers did begin to fall from the ſincerity of the Truth, enticed thereunto, though not by* Apolyon *himſelf, for he was not yet riſen; yet by the qualities whereof He is compoſed, and*

See Arch-Biſhop of *Yorks* Letter to King *James*, Cabala part 1. p. 13

Paraphraſe in Rev. 16 p. 50 operum.

therefore is here punished for the same. And as Moses, *troubled by the hot Eastern wind, the Land of* Egypt, *by the breeding of Grass-hoppers, so shall the fiery Spirit of God, in the mouths of his Witnesses, so trouble* Babylon, *with the burning Sun of Gods Truth, as men shall be troubled with a great Heat, to wit, she and her Followers shall be tormented and vexed therewith.* So King *James.*

O sacred Zeal whither art thou fled, that thou hast left *England*, a *Land in mourning because of Oaths*; A Land accursed because of blood touching blood; a *Land deserving to be abarren Wilderness, for the iniquities of the Inhabitants of it*, to whom the Word of God is made a reproach, *Jer.* 6. 10. and a derision daily, *Chap.* 20. 8. The Saints of God are thought troublers, 1 *Kings* 18. 17. The Image of God which is renued in knowledg after the Image of him that created it, *Col.* 3. 10. censured singularity and hypocrisie; holiness of life, which God commands as that which brings to his likeness and exaltation, 1 *Pet.* 1. 16 *Heb.* 12. 14. is nick-named Phanaticism; Zeal for reformed Religion, is counted

Hos. 4. 3.

Psal. 107. 34.

ground-

groundless mistrust, Real Fury, precise Singularity, factious Calvenism; Terms of opprobry beseeming rather the mouths of professed Romanists, then pretended sons of the Church of *England*, whose primitive Reformers, Bishops, Deans, and Doctors, if they could be raised up now to hear them, would obtest against them, as having lost the Zeal of their Profession, and not being a real honour to their way of worship and distinction, as if every thing were becoming, but what becomes every thing, Sincerity and plain dealing: Our Fashions and our Minds being so alike aery and sceptical, that we no day are what we ought, nor any day design to be what we should.

O Piety, O Gravity! Why hast thou forsaken *England*, who wert of old so friendly to her, and so befriended by her? why are thy effects so invisible now, which heretofore so cleerly appeared, and so becomingly adorned the words and lives of men, and the order and harmony of places and things? It is that which will kindle the rage of a *Moses* of meekness, and im-

patience the patience of a *Job*, to see and hear sin set up amongst us by common consent and practice against Laws in Force, and Magistrates sworn to execute them. The (*a*) execrable swearing, the notorious (*b*) Incontinency, the abominable (*c*) Drunkenness, the unconscionable (*d*) deceit, the loathsome debauchery, the (*e*) bruitish * Murther; These and other Grists that pass by the Mill of publique Severity, and are challengers of priviledg by their universality, are ill returns to Gods multiplyed mercies, and shrewd provocations to his Chastisement: But when his Service is counted a vain thing, *Mal.* 3.14. when his Prophets are misused, 2 *Chron.* 36.16. and those that have not been wind of levity, *Jer.* 5.13. or Foxes of Craft, *Ezech.* 13.4. or Prophets of Flattery, daubing with untempered Mortar, *Ezech.* 22.28. but Prophets of Truth have been lightly set by, yea, shrewdly set against: When the Lords Day,

(*a*) 21 Jac. 20. confirmed by 3 Car. 4. (*b*) 20 H. 3. 9 H. 6. 11. 18 Eliz. 3 7 Jac. 4. (*c*) 4 Jac. 5. 21 Jac 7. 1 Car. 4. (*d*) *Some of which are punishable by fine and inditement; others are against* 3 E. 1. c. 29 21 Jac. 16. 2 R. 1, 3. 3 H. 7. c. 4. 13 El. 5. 27 El. 4. 13 El. 20. 5. 1 H. 3. 6, 7. 34 H. 8. 5. 27 H. 8. c. 28. 31 H. 8 c. 13. 1 E. 6. c. 14. 13 Eliz. 1. (*e*) 3 H. 7. 1. 1 E. 6. 10. 5. 2 H. 3. 25. 1 Jac. 8. 3 E. 1. 23 H. 8. 1. 26 H. 8 c. 12. 1 E. 6. 12. 13 R. 2. c. 1. 16 R. 2. c. 6.

* Read Sir *Walter Rawleigh* B 5. c. 3. of his first part p. 468

set

set apart for Sanctification and Devotion, hath been prophaned and made common, and not only mocked at by Religions Adversaries, but thought too long by Religions seeming friends, and the preparatory duties to them, and the performed duties on them, too severe for Christians. When the Judgments of God face us to humilitie, as the testimony of our sorrow for sin, so destructive of us, yet mirth and jollity is so applauded and countenanced, that no man almost *Remembreth the afflictions of Joseph*, The desolations that sin has already made, further may, and without prevention by repentance will make. It is to be doubted, *Thy ways and doings which have not been good*, O England, O London, *have procured the evils thou feelest and fearest upon thee*: Thy Incorrigibility and Obduration has brought the Pestilence, *Exod.* 9.15. Thy contrary walking to God, has raised up Enemies against thee, *Prov.* 16.7. *Deut.* 28. 48. The pride we have had in our Strength, hath made God contend by Fire with us, and by such a Fire, as hath eaten up, not the great deep of *England*,

Lam. 1.7.

Amos 6.6

Hos. 4.9. Jer. 4.18. Lev. 26.25 Numb. 14. 12.

land, but a part of it, *London*. And yet God that has pulled some of us out of the Fire, and kept others from the Fire, is not returned unto, as he upbraids the people, *Amos* 4. 11. These Judgments have been upon *England* and *London*, the Lord deliver us from what followed upon *Israels* impenitency, Gods abhorrence of the *Excellency of* Jacob, *and his hating of his Palaces*; *God forbid that Judgment of Gods delivery of* England, *into her Enemies hand, from his smiting of the great House of* England, *with breaches, as he hath done the little House of* London *with clefts*, *ver.* 11. Be that Judgment, O Lord, be that undecreed by thee, and may our repentance reverse the first thoughts of thy severity this way to us. This be, O Lord, the punishment of those who are as Children of *Ethiopians* to thee, sinners that swear by the sin of *Samaria*, and say to the Deities of their own Erection, *thy God O Dan liveth, and the Manner of Beersheba liveth*, *Amos* 8. last *v.* Let those who forsake thee, and *Follow lying vanities be thus given up to fall, and never rise up again*: But let *England*

Amos 6. 8.

ver. 11.

Ps. 77.

Jonah 2. 8

land and *London* that have trusted in the Lord, be saved by thee, and that with *A mighty Salvation*: O be gracious to *England*, that as it hitherto has, so yet hereafter it may stand in thy sight a faithful Witness to thy Truth, and a signal Instance of thy Patronage for ever, and build thou up the walls of *London* that lye waste, and let it once more be called the Perfection of this Nations beauty; for my Nations sake, I cannot be silent; for my Nativities sake, I cannot hold my peace, I cannot contain my Pen, but it will bewray my hearts Language; for my Brethren and Companions sake, I will wish thee Good will, O *London*, in the Name of the Lord; The Lord send thee prosperity out of *Sion*. Ps 1.10 7. 1 Sam. 19 5 Isa. 45.17

And if the Question be asked of me, *By whom shall* London *arise for it is small*: my Answer shall be, God only knows how & by what, for he can make dry bones live: Yet there seems to me som ground of comfort from this, That the root of *London* being left, that which now seems arid, and sapless, may kindle in the womb of Providence, and take root downward, and bring forth

forth fruit upward; first, and chiefly, in repentance, for past Provocations, and in Vows of renewed conversation in her Inhabitants: and then in making her Buildings, her Judges, and her Magistrates, as at the first, and the Renown and Authority of them, as in the beginning.

This Sir, is that which I would promise to my self, and fore-speak to be the great mercy to *England* after revived *London*, *The late loss of which, I believe, to be great*; which my prayers are, may be compensated with ten times ten Myriads of Increase, and that to render it terrible to Gods and the Kings Foes, and supportive to the Crown, Religion, Lawes, under which it happily flourished, till the late disastre upon it; and God Almighty, who knows all secrets, and commands all hearts, raise it up, for these general and honest ends, Friends and Benefactors, who may not only further its acceleration to what it was, but to what, of further addition, it may be improved to. And may all the *Timageneses*, who hate *London*, as he did *Rome*, augment their grief upon the cause he did, the

fear

fear and assurance he had *Rome* would be rebuilt more glorious than it was before. The prosperity of which must be the joy and prayer of every sober English man, and sincere Protestant; and, I hope, whosoever is not both these, shall never have the power to hinder it, as I am sure he never will have the will to further it: I could enlarge in this Subject which is so pleasing to me, to expectorate my self by 5 *but over-doing is Undoing*, *and there is no straine but comes home with a halt*. Yet this I must subjoyn in comfort to *London* and *England*, changes will, and must come, and those to great Kingdomes, mighty Governments, rich Cities, *Seneca* has languaged this appositely to us.

Seneca Ep. 91

An Aphorism of Sir *Benjamin Ruddiards.*

Omnium istarum Civitatum quas nunc magnificas & Nobiles audes, vestigia quoq; tempus erudet non tantum manufacta labuntur juga montium] defluunt, &c. Ep. 91.

All that now (Noble Sir) remains for me to write, is to beg mine excuse for thus addressing you, whose greater affairs may be judged unreconcilable with the perusal of such papers as these, which carry the memoires of what is as unpleasing for you to remember, as impossible to forget. But I am not at all diffident of your Civility to them and me, because I am

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in them wholly acted by the cogency of publick ſpiritedneſs to both, Propoſe *Londons* caſe to the Nations piety, and to publiſh mine own Gratitude to it, the place of my birth, and of the breeding and converſation of my Worthy, Generous, and moſt Religioully ſincere and Dear * Father, who both lived long, creditably and belovedly in it, and alſo had the publick reſpect and Honour from it, to be choſen Chamberlain of it upon the death of Chamberlain *Harriſon* (tho he was made incapable, when his hand was upon the book to be ſworn in the Office, by one of thoſe Orders that then were in date, to exclude thoſe whom that Power termed diſaffected.) Theſe things, together with my experience, converſation and ſearch into the City Records, Cuſtomes and Story (in which, I may modeſtly ſay, I have deſired not to be unknowing) court me to appear thus to you (Sir) and to the Nation in her behalf. And ſince (Sir) I have no deſign to promote her happineſs by any black arts of injury and impiety to others Intereſts, leaving

* *Francis Waterhous* Eſq;

leaving those mysteries of iniquity to such as *Clement* the seventh, who to advance his own Family, *sometimes changed the Face of the affairs of Europe*; and Cardinal *Wolsey*, who to be made Legate *a Latere*, and to be enabled to visit not onely Monasteries, but all the Clergy, and dispense with Church Laws; so defamed the Clergy of his own Church and Country, that they were by the Popes Bull termed *Dati in reprobum sensum*. Since, I say, I have in this, and I hope I may truly say in my former appearings, (In *Apology for Arts and Interests Honest and of good Report*, only designed the Glory of God, the service of my Country, and the just and necessary vindication of my self from the censure of living to no purpose, and of affecting an idle and unconversable moroseness, which I think a very great sin against God, Nature, and the Time and Men with whom I live; and to whom I am responsible for the service of any smal ability I have, or may be improved to have) I cannot but be in a sort assured that my Country-men, who read me, will excuse my Pathos for

L. Herberts H 8. p. 378.

Idem p 90

Ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonatantum conscientia pretio ducebatur vir bonus. Scipio Amiratus in Digressionibus Politicis. p. 43. Edit. 1609.

for *London*; especially, when I have herein avoided all vehemence that I apprehended in any degree offensive, or mis-becoming the temperate ambition of my heart and hand; which, as they are daily lifted up to God in prayer, for his peculiar direction, how to live, speak, write and do, as suits with the attainment of a good Conscience, and the assurance of a glorious Heaven; the only noble imployment of time and parts, besides which all is vanity and vexation, (*For of all other perfections, a few years will shew us the end.*) So are they testimonial of their expectation to be freed from prejudice, in respect of their author, who though he pleads for strict Piety, sober Order, Religions Influence, Laws esteem, Trades increase, *Londons* restoration, yet is void of all private concern in any of these, further than as a Christian and an English man. No creature have I been, or am I of any design, no *Polypus* to times and men, no Vower, Covenanter or Engager, no Purchaser of Kings, Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands; no Petitioner in Tumults; no Sectary in Conventicles; no

waver in Judgment, have I, through Gods mercy, ever been; but a constant assertor of, and sufferer for my satisfiedness in, and adhaesion to, the piety and probity of my breeding and belief, which was ever, yet is, and I hope, through Gods grace, to death shall be, in point of Religion according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. In Duty and loyalty, according to the sound judgment of the Law, and the Declaration of Kings by their three Estates in Parliament; In love to, and correspondence with the Universities and Houses of Learning, sutable to the gratitude I, as a Gentleman, ought to express to them, wherein I have had breeding and acquaintance, and from which I have received respect; upon all which considerations I trust (Sir) this plain and honest application to the Nation, under Gods and Your Patronage, will be seasonable and successful (tho it has been longer held in the birth than was fit it should, had not the unpardonable slowness of the Press, and the chilness of the Frost demurred that, which the preparation of the Copy would have

sent

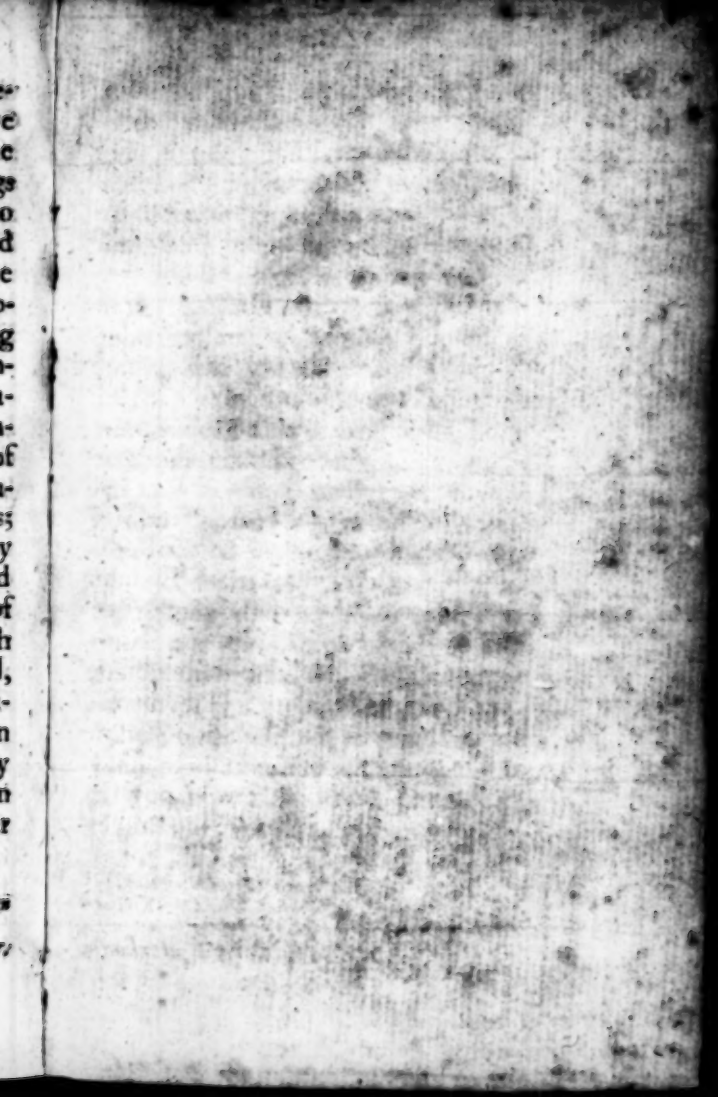
sent forth long ago. This, Sir, I beseech you excuse,) And give me leave to conclude with that which is the most suitable farewell to all things of this nature; The application to God, that he would be our God, and the God of our posterities; that he would bless with long Life and a happy Reign, our most Gracious King *Charles*, with Wisdom and Understanding, the Lords and others of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councel; with Zeal for God and holiness of life the Reverend Clergy; with Justice and Courage the Learned Judges; with Obedience and Loyalty the body of the Commons: And that he would consolidate all these to the comfort of this and after Ages, by the High Court of Parliament *now assembled, that by these degrees of Gods merciful endowment to this Nation, all in this Nation, and of this Church, may be holy to the Lord, and happy in themselves, is and shall be the Prayer of,

Noble Sir,

Your Humble Servant, and most affectionate Friend and Kinsman

Oct 20. 1666.

Edward Waterhouse.

FINIS.

Fidum & altum Reipubl. Pe-ctus as *Valerius* his words are. *Principes viri triumphis, & amplissimis honoribus functi, hortatu Principis ad ornandam urbem instituti sunt.* Velleius Paterculus lib. 2.